Daily Report

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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Investigations of Strike Shootings Demanded *[AFP]* 1
Government Declares PDSh General Strike Illegal *[TANJUG]* 1
Radio, TV Ignore Appeal for General Strike *[Mainz TV]* 1
PPSh, Other Parties Appeal For 'Calm and Work' *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Council of Ministers Discusses Privatization *[Tirana Radio]* 2
PDSh's Pashko Queried on Election Results *[Paris LE FIGARO 3 Apr]* 3
Social Democratic Party Applies For Registration *[ZERI I RINISE 27 Mar]* 3
Article Examines 'Partition of Albania' *[DRITA 24 Mar]* 3
U.S. Under Secretary Selin Continues Visit 5
Received by Kapllani *[ATA]* 5
Meets With Nano *[ATA]* 5

BULGARIA

Prime Minister Popov on Government's Record *[POGLED 31 Mar]* 6
Dimitrov: BSP Declaration 'Deceived' People *[DEMOKRATSIYA 29 Mar]* 7
Prime Minister Popov Denies Cabinet Rift *[BTA]* 8
SDS Deputies Threaten Assembly Walkout *[BTA]* 8
Constitutional, Economic Debates To Continue *[BTA]* 9
Lilov Questions Nationalism's Role in Politics *[BTA]* 9
Communist Leader Attacks Lilov, Lukanov *[BTA]* 10
BSP 'Movement for Radical' Change Analyzed *[DUMA 29 Mar]* 10
BSP: Country's Second Largest Property Owner *[BTA]* 11
Second Republican Party Joins SDS *[DEMOKRATSIYA 29 Mar]* 11
Zhivkov's Defense May Request Trial Suspension *[BTA]* 11
BSP Rally Celebrates Socialist Press *[DUMA 1 Apr]* 12
Ludzhev Relieves Intelligence Officers of Duties *[TRUD 29 Mar]* 12
Sofia's 'Acute' Environmental Problems Viewed *[BTA]* 12

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Meciar: Present Federation 'Not Functional' *[CTK]* 14
VPN Official on Adoption of Constitution *[CTK]* 14
Slovak Coalition Discusses Republic Coexistence *[CTK]* 14
Meciar Claims Opponents Seek To Discredit Him *[Bratislava Radio]* 15
Meciar Interviewed on VPN Movement, ZDS *[VEREJNOST 2 Apr]* 15
Slovak Shareholding Company Establishment Delayed *[NARODNA OBRODA 30 Mar]* 17
Situation of Slovaks in Army Outlined *[NARODNA OBRODA 2 Apr]* 18
Decisions of Czech National Council Reported *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 27-29 Mar]* 19
Deputy Expresses 'Serious Concern' Over KSCM *[RUDE PRAVO 27 Mar]* 19
Dlouhy on Administration of U.S. Enterprise Fund *[LIDOVE NOVINY 29 Mar]* 20
Klaus, Miller on Economic, Social Policies *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 29 Mar]* 20
List of Price-Controlled Goods Changed *[NARODNA OBRODA 29 Mar]* 21
Poll Shows Decline in Living Standards *[CTK]* 21
Statistical Data on Development of Foreign Trade *[TYDENIK HOSPODARSKYCH NOVIN 28 Mar]* 22
Independent TV Station Starts Broadcasting *[CTK]* 22
Journalists Fear Press Independence Threatened *[CTK]* 23
Recalled Envoy to Netherlands Defends Himself *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 28 Mar]* 23

HUNGARY

Prime Minister's Message Passed To Gorbachev *[MTI]* 24
Ambassador to Washington To Be Recalled *[MTI]* 24
Zwack's Recall Explained *[Budapest Radio]* 24
Slovak Side Continues Building Gabcikovo Plant *[MTI]* 24
Jeszenszky Says No Intention of Joining NATO *[Budapest Radio]* 25
Lorincz Resignation Letter, Goncz Reply Quoted *[Budapest TV]* 25
Political Historian Analyzes 'Change of Regime' *[NEPSZAVA 2 Apr]* 25
Government Official on Bank System Modernization *[NEPSZABADSAG 2 Apr]* 26
Labor Ministry Publishes Unemployment Prospects *[MTI]* 27

POLAND

USSR To Withdraw 10,000 Troops This Year *[Warsaw Radio]* 28
Ostrowski Comments on Timetable *[Warsaw TV]* 28
USSR Refuses Sale of Soviet Planes to China *[PAP]* 28
Minister Says KGB Activities in Country Ended *[Warsaw TV]* 28
UD Adviser Kuczynski on State Enterprises *[GLOS SZCZECINSKI 19 Mar]* 28

ROMANIA

Iliescu Receives ADEVARUL Management Board *[ROMPRES]* 30
Civic Alliance Issues Appeal to Parliament *[ROMANIA LIBERA 30 Mar]* 30
Iordache Sends Open Letter to FSN's Stoica *[ROMPRES]* 30
Government Favors 'Independent' TV Stations *[ROMPRES]* 30
Solidarity Declaration for Democracy, Civilization *[ROMANIA LIBERA 29 Mar]* 30
Former Regime, PEC Blamed for 1989 Repression *[ROMPRES]* 31
UVR Official on Ideology, Hungarian Traitors *[Budapest BESZELO 30 Mar]* 31
RMDSZ Reacts to UVR Statement *[Budapest Radio]* 32
Iliescu Leaves for 3-Day Visit to Moscow *[ROMPRES]* 32
Statements Before Departure Cited *[ROMPRES]* 32
Foreign Minister Continues Visit to FRG 33
Meets FRG's Genscher in Bonn *[ROMPRES]* 33
Concludes Visit *[ROMPRES]* 33

YUGOSLAVIA

Republican Leaders Face Press Following Meeting *[TANJUG]* 34
Presidents Affirm Hope for Peaceful Solutions *[TANJUG]* 38
New Autonomous Regions Termed 'Invalid' *[TANJUG]* 39
Jovic's Office Denies Macedonian Press Report *[BORBA 30-31 Mar]* 39
Titova Korenica 'Quiet'; Armored Unit 'Ready' *[TANJUG]* 39
Withdrawal Order Partially Implemented *[TANJUG]* 40
Police Reports Update Situation in Croatia *[TANJUG]* 40
Croatian Delegates Reject Security Report *[TANJUG]* 41
Croat Opposition Demands Government's Resignation *[TANJUG]* 41
Knin Temporarily Closes Schools, Enterprises *[TANJUG]* 41
Slovenia Remains 'Determined' on Independence *[TANJUG]* 41
Serbian Government Presents Document on Krajina *[TANJUG]* 42
Karadzic: Serbs 'Disappointed' With Presidency *[BORBA 2 Apr]* 42
Macedonia Views Tudjman-Milosevic Agreement *[BORBA 28 Mar]* 42
Kosovo Declaration Fails in Federal Chamber *[TANJUG]* 43
Strike Continues To Ground National Carrier *[TANJUG]* 43

Investigations of Strike Shootings Demanded

AU0404132791 Paris AFP in English 1258 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Nicolas Miletitch report]

[Excerpts] Tirana, April 4 (AFP)—Albanian industry was at a near standstill Thursday as the fledgling opposition claimed success in its first general strike against the communist regime, which was returned to power in Sunday's elections. [passage omitted]

Sali Berisha, head of the Democratic Party that called the strike with backing from the country's independent union, said it had drawn broad support across the country but that essential services were not affected. He said employees stayed off the job at industrial centers in both Tirana and the provinces.

At least 80 per cent of the workers were observing the strike at one textile factory in Tirana, which normally employs 9,000 people and until tentative reforms were introduced in December still bore the name, "Stalin." The opposition worked furiously throughout the night to distribute leaflets in buildings across the capital urging workers to join the strike.

The Democratic Party, which called its action a "mourning strike", also urged strikers to turn out lights for a one-minute blackout at 9 p.m. (1900 GMT). The organizers denounced the communist regime and "its right arm, the Sigurimi (the Albanian secret police)" and warned the population "to remain calm so as not to give the security forces a pretext to intervene."

The opposition also demanded a formal inquiry by representatives from all parties as well as foreign observers to find the "criminals" responsible for Tuesday's violence. [passage omitted]

"With the elections, the crisis of communism in Albania is all the more apparent. This crisis will worsen and the communists will no longer be able to hold on to power," the Democratic Party warned in its strike call. [passage omitted]

Government Declares PDSh General Strike Illegal

LD0404162791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1517 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 4 (TANJUG)—A general strike called by the Albanian Democratic Party [PDSh] today is illegal, because it was not registered on time or three days in advance as envisaged by the law, Albanian government spokesman Genz Kondi told newsmen here today.

Official of the Albanian Party of Labour Muharem Xafa has told the press that the strike is an attempt of the Democratic Party to lessen the ruling party's electoral success. He said the Albanian Party of Labour would not take any counter-actions.

No reliable figures concerning the response to the general strike are available. However, it is certain that in Tirana most of the employed people do not work, except in post offices, food stores and city public transport.

It is difficult to predict the actual response, since many Albanians do not know that the strike has been organized at all. Foreign reporters say that, for instance, inhabitants of the town of Kruje, near Tirana, do not have any idea that the strike has been called.

Radio, TV Ignore Appeal for General Strike

AU0404185591 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1700 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] In Albania the appeal of the Democratic Party [PDSh] for a general strike has been only partially observed. While work in Tirana was stopped in some places, public life in Durres and in Shkoder was paralyzed. The state radio and television completely ignored the appeal to strike. The protest was aimed against the brutal actions of the security forces in Shkoder during unrest after the communists' election victory.

PPSh, Other Parties Appeal For 'Calm and Work'

AU0404204691

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 4 April carries a total of five minutes of recorded statements by leaders of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh], the Republican Party, and the Ecology Party "appealing to the people for calm and work." Portions of the recordings are indistinct.

PPSh Central Committee Secretary Abdyl Backa states that in the 31 March elections, "The people freely expressed their will." He states that "great tasks await us," and mentions the Presidential Council's appeal for work and the need for "order everywhere" while the "new pluralist People's Assembly approves the new constitution." He stresses "the favorable weather conditions in agriculture." He states that, "Of course, the new elections did not fulfill all the objectives of all political participants. This is the rule of pluralism." He protests "signs of anger and the outbreak of political passions in strikes." On behalf of the PPSh, Backa appeals to "everybody to learn to live normally alongside our new neighbor, pluralism," for the sake of "economic and social progress, social peace, and national unity." "One campaign is over, and another important one has begun, that of work to realize our programs."

Republican Party [PRSh] Chairman Sabri Godo states that "The election results created new tensions, expressed in the painful events in Shkoder. Social peace was again imperiled. There are incitements by extremists on both sides, and irresponsible behavior that leads to confrontation. Now we need calm, unity, and dialogue

more than ever. Both those who won and those who lost the elections must restrain themselves. Anger finds grounds for itself in the catastrophic state of the economy. Many people have lost trust and hope. The country can and must be put back on its feet. Let us return to work, because otherwise we will head down a blind alley." "Europe must understand us better. What we ask of Europe is that it should sell us its food surpluses at cheap prices and with long-term credit." "In the end, however, everything depends on us."

Petrit Franko, member of the Initiating Commission of the Ecology Party, states that "although the Ecology Party did not win a single seat in the elections," it recognizes the elections as a democratic success, "expresses regret at the events in Shkoder," and "appeals for respect for the electoral results."

Council of Ministers Discusses Privatization

AU0404200791 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] The Council of Ministers discussed and approved a series of important decrees at its meeting today. In implementation of the Presidium of the People's Assembly's Decree No. 7,476 dated 12 March 1991 on permitting and protecting private property and initiative, the government approved a detailed decree in support of the development of private initiative. It instructed the ministries and other central institutions, in conjunction with the Committee for the Reorganization of the Economy and the executive committees of district people's councils, to decide before the end of April which enterprises, units, sectors, and particular spheres of activity will be transferred from state to private ownership. This process will be carried out first in the service, handicraft, communal services, and retail sectors, the production of staple consumer goods, both industrial and nonindustrial food production, in workshops, factories, and small enterprises whose production cycle is self-contained, in freight and passenger transportation, in cultural, artistic, and health service activities, and in the attorney service.

This decree states that private enterprises created by transfers from state to private ownership or that are newly formed will be organized and will operate on an individual, partnership, collective, or cooperative basis, or in stockholding enterprises and companies, and will be created with the financial and material capital of one or more individuals, by state and private bodies in Albania jointly, or on the basis of stocks. They will be developed by their own resources and bank credits, and will be supported by the rental of working equipment and the organized sale of material and technical resources at favorable prices.

In the creation of stockholding companies, working people who are now employed by the state enterprises that will pass to collective or private ownership will be given preference rights to purchase shares valued at no less than 100 leks. According to this decree, however, ministries and other central institutions (?may take part) in the creation of joint enterprises and companies by Albanian parties who engage in such activities in conjunction with foreign partners.

The Council of Ministers also approved a decree to create the new Committee for the Reorganization of the Economy, and approved this committee's tasks and functions. This committee will organize, manage, and coordinate with the ministries and other central institutions the process of the transfer of state property to private ownership, the creation of new private sectors, and other tasks stemming from the economy's reorganization.

In implementation of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Decree No. 7,477 dated 12 March 1991, on permitting employment abroad and the creation of a Committee of Labor and Economic Emigration, the Council of Ministers approved a decree on the rights and duties of the Committee of Labor and Economic Emigration. Besides studying and assessing job opportunities in the towns and the countryside, according to districts and at national level, and the need to create new jobs in Albania, this committee will study, exploit, and realize opportunities for the employment of Albanian citizens in other countries by signing the relevant agreements and contracts with foreign organs, organizations, and firms. The Committee of Labor and Economic Emigration will represent the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the International Labor Organization, will maintain direct ties with the labor and migration authorities of other countries, and will inaugurate cooperation in the field of information, the exchange of literature, experience, and qualifications in connection with labor and economic migration problems.

At its meeting today, the Council of Ministers, at the proposal of the Ministry of Transportation, decided to authorize the signing of a contract to found a joint Albanian-Italian enterprise in Trieste whose purpose will be to carry out various shipping services for the import and export of Albanian goods through the port of Trieste. It instructed the Ministry of Transportation to act on this decision.

The minister of foreign trade and economic cooperation also informed the Council of Ministers about the expected state of the foreign currency balance of payments for the first and second quarters of this year. In the first quarter of this year, because of nonfulfillments at home, more food was imported than planned, while foreign currency earnings were only half realized. It was said at this meeting that the difficult foreign currency balance of payments situation inherited from last year, further exacerbated in the first quarter of this year, will be confronted by efforts on the part of all ministries and enterprises, who will each prescribe concrete tasks to cover as much of their imports as possible with earnings from exports. Nevertheless, foreign financial sources will have to cover a substantial proportion of imports for the second quarter too. The Council of Ministers instructed

the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation, the State Bank, and other ministries, in cooperation with foreign firms and states, to secure financial resources in accordance with the cooperation agreements that have been signed with Italy, Turkey, and Greece and through the mediation of the IMF and all the international banks with which contacts have been established.

At its meeting today, the Council of Ministers approved the plan of the treasury of the Albanian State Bank for the second quarter of 1991 and authorized the financing of the necessary payments in order to maintain work in various sectors of the economy and culture.

On the proposal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the government decided to open the embassy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the United States.

PDSh's Pashko Queried on Election Results

PM0404135091 Paris LE FIGARO in French 3 Apr 91 p 3

[Interview with Democratic Party Leader Gramoz Pashko by Arielle Thedrel in Tirana on 1 April]

[Text] [Thedrel] To what do you attribute the Democratic Party's [PDSh] relatively disappointing score?

[Pashko] We did not have enough time. Our party was formed just three and a half months ago. In those three and a half months, we had to fight a political war and an election campaign. At first, we were called hooligans and there was virtually no international support. The Yugoslav press even described us as phantom communists.

Then, there was the students' strike, and the toppling of Enver Hoxha's statue for which we were not responsible but which brought us harsh attacks from the communist party [Albanian Workers Party]. Finally, there is this exodus by the Albanian people.

[Thedrel] What was your reply?

[Pashko] We had to take a stance on all those events. At the same time, we had to organize our movement and fight a campaign against a party that has been in power for 45 years and is therefore very well orgnized.

We had no equipment, we did not have the opportunity to use the media. Despite all that, I am pleased with the score we obtained. It is a good blow against the communists, especially in view of the quality of our voters. The workers voted for us. That is very important because they represent the country's real energy.

[Thedrel] Is your party's electoral defeat not likely to lead to a wave of social unrest now?

[Pashko] The city of Tirana has just shown that it is anticommunist. I have told my supporters not to lose hope. In six months, in one year, new elections will be held and by then we will be the strongest. We will have time to work among the peasants in the rural districts. Just recently, the communists gave them back some land and livestock; therefore, they gave the impression that they were the most powerful party. And in Albania the peasants always vote for the strongest people.

[Thedrel] How do you view the future of the PPSh?

[Pashko] I am convinced that the crisis of communism will worsen. In a few months, there will be a split within the communist party, with the reformists on one side and the conservatives and "Enverists" on the other. A third group has already emerged—the social democrats. This crisis will certain be seen at the next Albanian Party of Labor congress and will enable us to strengthen our position.

[Thedrel] Are you disappointed?

[Pashko] (laughing—LE FIGARO editor's note) I am not disappointed. I am tired.

Social Democratic Party Applies For Registration

AU0404162891 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 27 Mar 91 p 4

[Statement by "Organizing Group"; place and date not given: "Application To Legalize the Creation of the Social Democratic Party of Albania Submitted"]

[Text] The organizing group for the creation of the Social Democratic Party of Albania [Partia Socialdemokrate e Shqiperise, PSDSh] has issued the following announcement to the press:

In recent days, the organizing group for the creation of the PSDSh has submitted an application to the Justice Ministry for this party's legalization.

The PSDSh is being created as a necessary alternative under the conditions of current pluralist developments in our country and Albania's participation in current security, cooperation, and integration processes in Europe.

The PSDSh, placing above everything else the interests of the people, our homeland, freedom, independence, national sovereignty, and the country's progress, aspires to build a social order on a European model, active and dynamic from the economic viewpoint, and with a humane order of social justice harmonizing social interests, which will be free, open, and pluralist and democratic in the political, cultural, and spiritual sense.

Article Examines 'Partition of Albania'

AU0404220091 Tirana DRITA in Albanian 24 Mar 91 p 3

[Rudolf Marko article: "A Forgotten National Calling"]

[Text] When we mention the national idea, we have willy-nilly become accustomed to feeling uneasy at the prospect of a discussion that will be, if not insincere, at

least stuffed with bombastic, barnstorming, and journalistic phrases that swagger above the level of our everyday talk. This makes it difficult for all of us to discuss national values and the national calling. This happens at a time when each one of us feels deep inside that the national problem is the most urgent problem for the Albanians today. It is well known that Europe muddled the Albanians' geographical map a long time ago, and the partition of Albania weighs on the conscience or subconscious of every one of us. Now every schoolchild knows that an Albanian question has long existed, in just the same way as a German question existed until last year. In a European context, the Albanian question has existed for 80 years, and is not only still unsolved, but has, amazingly, become more tangled than ever. It is precisely today, when even the most civilized peoples are awakening to their national vocations, without compromising the aim of a united Europe, that the most skilled orator among us would find it difficult to address crowds of people about the values of their nation. I was at Shengjin on the day of the tragic exodus, among the thousands of people gathered on the seashore, the women and children, the bewildered young people, tear-stained dreamers laboring under illusions, in joy or sorrow. Parents wept and mothers wailed. Could any man have dared to stand before them all and start talking about the national idea? It is hard to even attempt to mention a single name. Now, after 1878 and 1912, it seems that the times have put as at a third major crossroads. However, it now seems even more confused. If we were faced with foreigners in 1878 and 1912, we are now faced with our own selves. If the Albanian emigration after death of Skenderbeg was forced upon us by the Turkish invaders, what now forces the Albanians today to take the uncertain road of exile? Are we not involuntarily giving support to the cynical idea that the Albanians have occupied Albania? Can today's pain be explained solely by that so-misused phrase—domestic and foreign enemies? All these are shocking questions facing Albanians wherever they may be. We have finally abandoned, once and for all, the logic of the ostrich that hides his head in the belief that others will not see him. It is increasingly accepted that it is in our own interests not to have any more taboo subjects. It is, therefore, a good idea now and henceforth to treat the national question not simply in an oratorical and rhetorical manner, as has been done hitherto, but with all its pains and errors.

It appears that for us Albanians the best way to advance toward democracy is the national way. I know that such an assertion will not sound pleasant to some people, and rightly so, because we have long suffered from the preaching of narrow nationalism and absurd xenophobia that may have humiliated us in the eyes of others. While we stridently preached narrow nationalism, however, we also for a very long time spoke in very hesitantly about the nobility of our nation and of Albanian civilization, and what is worse, virtually defined 1938 as the year zero of our history. There is, therefore, no reason why we should flinch at a summons to heed our national calling, because our ears have been deaf to this calling for so long. Meanwhile, the triumphs and defeats of our history have something to teach us. The national idea is still in a state of collective flux, and in this sense we have fatally tried to avoid it. The national idea of the Albanians is able to coexist with democracy, and is even able to illuminate the path of democracy, so unexpected traps, potholes, and crevices may be avoided.

When we dream of Europe, we seldom remember that we are on the Balkan peninsula, which has lived through the most painful disagreements on the surface of this planet. Can we delude ourselves that we are too up-to-date to be people of the Balkans? As people of the Balkans, we are among the most ancient inhabitants of the continent, and we are as a result a nation with a very rich deposit of historical memory. It seems, however, that this is contradicted everyday by the sad reality that we are closing our ears to our national calling and our national awareness. It seems that people no longer have any patience to hear even the most sacred things mentioned. All this sounds like a reaction against all that time when we politicized everything, even national feelings, national heroes, national symbols and archetypes, and replaced them with the myths and idols of Albanian-style communism. Our national heroes and national symbols cannot be blamed for this, however. Now that these idols are increasingly falling in Albania, too, there is the danger of creating a vacuum that will encourage provincial cosmopolitanism. Precisely for this reason, it is time to heed our national calling. For a long time, as if driven demented by a form of megalomania called internationalism, we thought about the world and its problems and future, while forgetting our own, just like that man of Socrates with the two satchels: a large one filled with his own burden of worries that he could not see because he carried it on his back, and a little one containing other people's worries, which he held in front of his chest and studied all day long. Our megalomania went to the point of planning to create, on instructions from above, an institute for the study of world culture, at a time when we lacked studies of our own culture and literature, not to mention our sad readiness to regard our own classics within narrow ideological and intellectual limits. The Albanian Institute of Linguistics used to quote in and out of season a fantastical work of Stalin on linguistics, and has to the present day considered the views of German linguistics on the antiquity and magic of the Albanian language to be romantic theories. The greatest injury to the nation, Albania's bisection, remained unfamiliar until recently, and very few knew anything about the geography, history, and works of our brother writers across the state borders. In this way, we accepted a strange dulling of our national awareness, and a series of mistakes can very easily begin from such a dulled awareness. People's mass flight, the lure of the embassies, and the shimmering mirage of a promised land in hungry eyes show that we have been poor students of the nation's history. Moreover, the Albanians' ancient dream of union, or to use a more up-to-date term, unity, appears to be obstructed by all kinds of blockheads,

eternal power-wielders, who think they were born to be surrounded by privileges and offices, and careerists of all kinds, by hunger and poverty, and by distrust and headlong flight. The men of the national renaissance and their humanist predecessors believed that the Albanians could only become a nation through their physical and spiritual unification; however, we must admit that large cracks have begun to appear in their ideal for some time now. We must admit, however bitter this may be, that we are presently in a way faced with a struggle for survival as a nation. I said above that this is not the first time that we have heard such knells toll; however, it seems that the end of the 20th century finds us more divided than ever, both physically, in that Albanians are separated by state borders, and spiritually, when one bears in mind the traumas we experience every day. Division, this terrible plague of the Balkan climate, has taken root among us, like a guest that you cannot get rid of. Our national calling has always warned us of such an epidemic. There are many people who are unable to see division even when it has taken root, because they are ready to protect their personal interests and privileges against all odds, armored by such phrases as: dark forces, vandal movements, destructive hooligans. Evidently, the Albanian language does not lend itself to such artificialities, and foreign loan words have to be used.

It is not too much to say that we find ourselves at a crossroads as a nation.

We today are the continent's belated travelers. We have a few empty suitcases in our hands (let us not be ashamed to admit it), but we also have an extremely rich deposit of national memory. It is this memory that should bring us to our destination of democracy, Europe, and contemporary civilization.

U.S. Under Secretary Selin Continues Visit

Received by Kapllani

AU0404111791 Tirana ATA in English 0805 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 4 (ATA)—On April 3, the Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani received Ivan Selin, under secretary of the U.S. State Department, and had a friendly talk with him. Both parties highly evaluated the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations between Albania and the USA and in this context the importance of the opening of embassies in the respective capitals, as a necessary step for the materialization of these relations.

Muhamet Kapllani said that the democratic processes in Albania are irreversible and laid the stress on the importance of March 31 pluralist elections as a special moment of this process to ensure the functioning of the juridical state and the application of reforms in all the fields.

Mr. Selin laid the stress on the importance of the post election period for the political and democratic life in Albania, the creation of a pluralist parliament, that is for the continuation of the democratic processes in Albania, which he said, enjoy the support of the United States of America .

Meets With Nano

AU0404133191 Tirana ATA in English 1220 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 4 (ATA)—Today, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Fatos Nano, received the undersecretary of the U.S. State Department, Ivan Selin and had a warm and friendly talk with him.

Attending the reception was also the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka.

Fatos Nano hailed the visit to our country of the U.S. high-ranking official underscoring on this occasion that the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and the U.S.A. was a positive step. He briefed the U.S. official on the March 31 elections and the hitherto results, on the main points of the economic reform worked out by the government and other problems. Fatos Nano voiced the official commitment of the government and the evaluation the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Presidential Council made to the public commitment of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party] to cooperate with other political forces. He said that the government has a clear program on the transition to the free market economy. But the results are not expected immediately, because first of all mentalities and customs related to centralised economy should be changed. At the same time these results cannot be expected unless we set down to work. This work makes efficient also the foreign aid. He also spoke on the government's efforts to avoid the unnecessary political tensions, triggered recently, through the consensus between the political forces and the functioning of the legal state. The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Fatos Nano, informed Ivan Selin of the government's official engagement in investigating those responsible for the events in Shkoder.

On his part, the U.S. undersecretary of state, Ivan Selin, said that they in the U.S.A. hope to see the continuation of the democratic process starting in Albania with the March 31 multiparty elections. He assesse the clear concept of the Albanian Government for the immediate switch to the road of the development of the multiparty parliamentary democracy, as a second important step following the elections. Only the cooperation among the various political forces can avoid the actual tensions in Albania, he said.

Both parties promised to create the necessary legal framework on the all-round promotion of bilateral relations. They voiced similar worries and assessments on the tense situation in the Balkans as well as on the necessity of Albania's admittance as a full member in the CSCE.

Prime Minister Popov on Government's Record

AU0404221391 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 13 31 Mar 91 p 5

[Interview with Prime Minister Dimitur Popov by Ivan Ganev; place and date not given: "Pursued by a Dream"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Ganev] People accuse you of having no strategy.

[Popov] In the shorter and longer term, history will judge us on what we have achieved, even in only 100 days. In their impatience, some people think that, as if by waving a magic wand, we could have achieved wonders in a mere two or three months, although we have been led toward decline for decades on end. It is politically, factually, and economically inaccurate to blame the government for the present serious situation, because the fact that the government has acted with convincing speed is beyond any doubt. Within a brief period, it has succeeded in developing a clear position, which includes views on the start of the economic reform and actions aimed at easing market conditions to some extent. The dollar exchange rate has been halved, thus dealing a major blow against the black market. By means of a number of initial economic measures, the government has managed to ensure fulfillment of the IMF conditions and made it possible to sign agreements on granting economic aid to Bulgaria. By the end of this year, we will have at least two billion dollars at our disposal. Is this a small achievement, given that, in contrast to other East European countries, we started almost two months ago without a single red cent of foreign aid?

[Ganev] Did you clearly realize that you were taking an immense risk by freeing prices on a massive scale?

[Popov] We foresaw exactly what would happen. The mass pressure on the market was also weakened by the 50-percent decrease in the dollar exchange rate. The state is in a position to reduce the rate even further. The increased incentives for producers of basic food products, especially meat, was another important factor.

[Ganev] Except that the economy's monopoly structure played its biggest trick on you....

[Popov] Had it not been for the absence of competition, there would have been many times more goods on the market, goods of greater variety and better quality, and the prices would have been lower. The situation was the result of the behavior of some of the monopoly state structures, which unfortunately are still not properly reacting to the change. They are like huge dinosaurs that went into hibernation and woke up in a different climatic epoch, still possessing sufficient strength to trample down and destroy things around them.

[Ganev] How long will the monopolies continue their resistance?

[Popov] The government is preparing a pitiless offensive, which will consist of eliminating the monopolies enjoyed by the state structures. This will ease the situation in the market. At the same time, we are also preparing for the start of privatization. The so-called small privatization may begin even before the National Assembly adopts the law on privatization.

[Ganev] In your opinion, why are the private firms reacting so sensitively to the government's measures?

[Popov] Let us make it clear that not all of them are doing so. Some private and state companies are operating intelligently and producing goods. Many companies, however, are unable or do not know how to maintain themselves in market economy conditions. They lack dynamism, and some of them are badly organized.

[Ganev] What stage has the work on the new economic legislation reached?

[Popov] Preparations are in hand to submit to the Grand National Assembly a complete package of laws that will provide a legal basis for the economy's mechanism, as well as scope for further changes in the economy. They will make it possible to successfully complete the privatization and, at the same time, to provide guarantees for foreign investments. This is also my answer to your earlier question relating to the accusations that we have no strategy. Can this be called a lack of strategy?

[Ganev] Does your government still have enough time?

[Popov] Heaven knows. I wish the new government would take over tomorrow. We will continue, however, to work without rest until the very end of our term of office. It should not be forgotten that this government does not have the task of carrying out the complete reform. We have been assigned the task of launching the economic reform, to make the process irreversible.

[Ganev] Recently, one has noticed a change in the tone of the articles about Bulgaria appearing in the Western press, from open pessimism to a modest degree of optimism. This is true of recent articles in LE MONDE and in some German publications.

[Popov] This is not only the assessment of the journalists, but also of leading politicians and economists. It is worthy of note that this assessment is completely at variance with the tone of some of our domestic critics. Financial and economic circles in Europe, banks, international institutions, governments, and—an especially important point—the IMF assess the changes we have carried out according to their true merits. They accept them as a guarantee for our further development. I would like to be modest, but I must draw attention to the admissions by certain foreign circles that they simply did not expect a positive turnaround in Bulgaria. It is a matter of particular importance for us that all this acts as a releasing factor for the international financial and economic institutions, foreign governments, and bank consortiums, helping to win their confidence in Bulgaria's credit-worthiness.

[Ganev] To change the subject, at least we can be pleased that we have lived in peace for 100 days. Bulgarians can be thankful for this small mercy, at least....

[Popov] It is indeed true that civil and social peace has been established. I can state with full responsibility that this has not been known previously in Bulgaria's recent history. This is so, even though the time has been too short for us to achieved many things. Nevertheless, we have not hesitated to submit bills to the legislature that will make it possible to finally destroy the totalitarian structures and establish new democratic ones in their place. [passage omitted]

[Ganev] Do you talk politics in the Council of Ministers?

[Popov] Let me tell you first of all that the time pressures under which the government works are indeed extreme. We hold at least two sessions a week. We make many decisions and, what is most important, carry them out. Tell me, when can we find time to talk politics? We do not discuss politics at our meetings, we simply get on with the job.

[Ganev] All the same, don't you cross swords sometimes?

[Popov] If we ever quarrel, it is only because we are looking for the best solution.

[Ganev] Has the government done everything it can to ensure that the local authority elections are held as soon as possible?

[Popov] Yes. If the Grand National Assembly passes the bill in time and if the law comes into force before 15 April, the elections can be held on 16 or 23 June. At the same time, although the constitution has not yet been adopted, we are preparing a new electoral law for the assembly.

[Ganev] What has been the most unexpected and unpleasant surprise for the government recently?

[Popov] The passing of the Land Act set us an exceptionally difficult task: to conduct a complex, wide-ranging agrarian reform with no equal in history. As you know, in the other East European states the land was not nationalized or forcibly taken into cooperative ownership to the same extent. So far, no one in the field of farming and agriculture has ever made the transition from the system of socialism and the planned economy to a market economy. The task of drafting the code of regulations on applying the law has proved to be no easy one. Thank God, we have now almost completed drafting the regulations.

[Ganev] As is well-known, in trade and industry capital can circulate 10 times in a year, but in the country one sows and reaps only once a year. Accordingly, can the present high interest rates also be applied in agriculture?

[Popov] This is the nub of the problem—to provide low-interest credits for agriculture, which has no capital, no equipment, and no seed, but must feed us.

[Ganev] How do you plan to increase industrial production, which is declining at an alarming rate?

[Popov] The government must find a new way, different from the previous one, to stimulate production. At the moment, over 95 percent of production is connected with the state structures. We must quickly put a stop to the process that has begun of the state enterprises becoming autonomous organizations, in order that our goods should not lose their previous markets. We need new people as leaders, we need a new generation. If the enterprises and their collectives have any common sense, they must rid themselves of managements that do not understand how to work in the new economic conditions. If the leaders themselves have any self-respect, they should beat a timely retreat. [passage omitted]

Dimitrov: BSP Declaration 'Deceived' People

AU0304170791 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 29 Mar 91 p 1

[Interview with Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces Coordinating Council, by Silvia Stefanova; place and date not given: "The Bulgarian Socialist Party Provided the Evidence of Still Being Identical With the Bulgarian Communist Party"]

[Text] [Stefanova] Mr. Dimitrov, can you describe your reaction to the recent declaration of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council?

[Dimitrov] The declaration can only arouse my pity for those people who joined the BSP in the confidence that they were becoming members of a totally reformed Socialist Party. Such people have evidently been deceived and I declare that I shall no longer use the name BSP, but only BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in referring to this particular party. The BSP declaration was conceived in the spirit of the most typical communist cliches—both regarding its literary style and its contents.

[Stefanova] The declaration plays around with concepts, such as "correct approach, political assessment, specific historical analysis," and others. What do they conceal?

[Dimitrov] It is exactly the style I was talking about. It usually serves to conceal the truth. There are some more important points worth mentioning. Thus, for example, we come across the term "distortions" instead of "crimes." The declaration points out—and it sounds like a reprimand—that some malicious slanderers dare to call the crisis by its true name, namely a national disaster. I am asking why those who are dying because of the shortage of medicines, for which the squandering governments of the former regime are responsible, should be accused of malicious slander? Is this not what hundreds of thousands of people who will soon be

unemployed should think, while the ministers from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] are trying to repair the damage caused by the former regime? Naturally, the BSP declaration once more tries to speculate with the decent Socialists, the rank and file party members, to manipulate the public. Nevertheless, when we are talking about the criminal behavior of that particular party we do not mean its rank and file members, but the party as a political organization represented by its leadership, namely the organization that is capable of constantly regenerating its own party and political style. Throughout the last 45 years the party had nothing to offer but concentration camps, show trials, violence, gross interference in the people's lives, and a disastrous economic policy that led us to the present situation. The gentlemen from the BSP Supreme Council and the Control Commission are talking about an "inflated apparatus and a system of unjustified privileges" because they evidently have difficulties in pronouncing the only correct word—namely robbery. They are trying to analyze the reasons for the economic crisis that is affecting our country, but they once more keep silent about the permanent exploitation of our economy while telling their little stories about the great achievements of the socialist economic system. They certainly base all their arguments on the assumption that a country might not develop at all in 50 years. It reminds me very much of Mr. Lukanov's interviews in 1988 praising Bulgaria's economic miracle—the same miracle the fruits of which we are reaping today. There is something truly cynical about the BSP's Supreme Council urging every political force, state institution, and social organization to assume its share of responsibility for the country's situation. I am afraid that such declarations are only aimed at exacerbating tension in the country and at destroying everything that might be defined as social peace.

[Stefanova] Could this declaration, despite all its claims about the "proven guilt of the culprits," be described as an attempt to conceal the names of the real culprits so they may escape from legal responsibility?

[Dimitrov] It will be interesting to see the list of names that the gentlemen of the Supreme Council promised to submit. Under no circumstances can the political organization be exempt from responsibility for the existence of the regime that ruled the country over several decades. The individual culprits will certainly be handed over to the justice services and are expected to serve their legal sentences. Nevertheless, the political organization that established the regime and ruled the country through the individuals in question, the organization that regenerated itself over the decades must be held responsible. It was not a coincidence that processes of de-nazification and de-fascistization took place in the countries ruled by totalitarian regimes during World War II. Mind you, the processes in question did not affect the decent, but deceived, or deluded rank and file members of those organizations. They simply affected the damaging impact of such organizations upon society. As a matter of fact, yesterday's declaration showed that the totalitarian nature of the BCP's political organization did not change after the party was renamed. I frankly admit that we expected this to happen. We hoped that the BCP would change after it was renamed. Numerous people who renewed their BSP membership also expected the same. It is quite evident today that the BSP Supreme Council simply tried to deceive everyone. From now on it can only continue to play its treacherous role.

Prime Minister Popov Denies Cabinet Rift

AU0504071891 Sofia BTA in English 2039 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 4 (BTA)—Prime Minister Mr. Dimitur Popov said there is no rift in the Council of Ministers. The denial was occasioned by the impression which today's press and last night's television reports created quoting a statement by Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev.

"The impression that cabinet members representing different political forces had disagreements and differences over the government's economic reform policy does not correspond to the truth," Mr. Dimitur Popov said on national television this evening. He explained that the wrong impression was created by quoting parts of Mr. Ludzhev's statement of yesterday out of context and by the way they were presented.

The prime minister assured his audience that all cabinet members agreed on the essence of the economic reform and on the manner of its implementation.

Mr. Popov announced that this was confirmed at today's meeting at which the government considered the progress of the reform. The reform is going on successfully, and the Council of Ministers is clear about the way in which it will carry it out. He pointed out, however, that there is a measure of resistance among the business executives who do not understand well the meaning of the reform and its indispensability. In his view this is rather due to a professional strand, to an inability or unwillingness to comply with the new conditions in which they are placed and under which the free market economy will have to operate.

"Today's analysis showed that the first stage of the reform had really proved a success, the results of the cabinet's first one hundred days are optimistic indeed," Mr. Dimitur Popov emphasized.

SDS Deputies Threaten Assembly Walkout

AU0404204991 Sofia BTA in English 1919 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 4 (BTA)—Forty-four opposition MP's declared today that they will walk out of parliament unless new parliamentary elections are scheduled for June.

The forty-four MP's comprising one-third of the parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) insist that a

date should be fixed for the adoption of the new constitution. Afterwards parliament should dissolve itself, and the new general elections should be held by the end of June at the latest, as envisaged by the agreement which the political forces signed in January. Otherwise the 44 MP's will walk out of parliament in late April.

Following are some of the signers of the declaration: Mr. Stoyan Ganev, co-chairman of the parliamentary SDS, Mr. Stefan Savov, leader of the Democratic Party, Ms. Elka Konstantinova, leader of the Radical Democratic Party, SDS spokesmen Mikhail Nedelchev and Aleksandur Yordanov, Mr. Petko Simeonov, chairman of the Federation of Glasnost and Democracy Clubs, writers Georgi Mishev and Yordan Vasilev, artist Georgi Baev, actor Todor Kolev, Mr. Rumen Danov, deputy chairman of the Credentials Committee, and Mr. Todor Todorov (a recent defector from the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] parliamentary faction).

The 44 MP's insist that the police files of all full-time and part-time state security informers should be submitted to parliament by mid-April.

The 44 MP's believe that in the last nine months parliament proved incapable of working in its present composition. They suggest that the new parliamentary elections be held by the majority system. The incumbent 400 MP's were elected by both the majority and the proportional representation systems.

Constitutional, Economic Debates To Continue

AU0504071491 Sofia BTA in English 2029 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 4 (BTA)—Today parliament adopted a decision on its further work. The decision does not specify the duration of parliament's life nor a date for its self-dissolution. It stresses, however, that local elections should precede general elections.

Parliament will prioritize drafting the new basic law: it should start debating the draft of the new Constitution as early as the beginning of May. After parliament passes the new Constitution and the general elections act it will dissolve itself. New elections for a regular National Assembly will be held.

Parliament decided to carry on its debate on key economic and political legislation alongside the discussions on the new Constitution. Parliament will assign priority to the bills on the accounting office, foreign investment protection, business competition, privatization, the police, the judiciary, taxation, banking and the business act.

Parliament should also speed up the adoption of the acts on local self-government and the election of local authorities.

Parliament discussed the police files affair and ruled that the Commission of Inquiry should submit its report on the matter within two weeks.

Today's parliamentary decision updates the Political Forces' Agreement signed in January. This time the decision was put to the vote in parliament while in January the document was signed only by the leaders of the political forces.

During the debate a group of 44 opposition MP's declared that they would walk out of parliament unless a deadline is set for the adoption of the Constitution so that parliament could dissolve itself and fix a date for new parliamentary elections by the end of June. According to parliamentary sources, the number of MP's supporting this declaration has risen to 47.

It turned out that the parliamentary factions were not unanimous on the parliamentary decision. MP's of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms and the Union of Democratic Forces voted against it while a considerable number of MP's of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) abstained.

The conflict arose when the BSP faction insisted that the parliamentary decision should state explicitly that local elections should precede parliamentary elections. The opposition objected but the BSP majority pushed the wording through.

The difference of opinions on the elections timing is most obvious within the SDS whose factions insist on elections in June, in the autumn or even later. However, the BSP might be able to impose its view because new parliamentary elections could be fixed only after the dissolution of parliament and the BSP commands a majority in it.

Lilov Questions Nationalism's Role in Politics

AU0404080791 Sofia BTA in English 2047 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, April 3 (BTA)—Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, sees this party's future in the modern left wing. Mr. Lilov spoke before socialist party members, sympathizers and followers who had gathered to mark the anniversary of the renaming of the Communist Party into the Socialist Party. He stressed the difference between traditional social democracy and the Socialists' ideological reorientation, aimed at building democratic socialism.

Analysing the condition of the party and the situation in this country, Mr. Lilov said, "We took our bearings in the tendency of development in time to avoid the mistakes made by parties in other countries. We have the right strategy and we are firm in our policy of peaceful transition to democracy."

While supporting the development of opposition parties, the leader of the Socialist Party opposes the legalization of political forces set up on an ethnic basis, such as the Movement for Rights and Freedoms. Mr. Lilov declared himself against nationalism in politics.

Communist Leader Attacks Lilov, Lukanov

AU0304195791 Sofia BTA in English 1859 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 3 (BTA)—The chairman of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (Revolutionary), *Mr. Angel Tsonev, spoke at a press conference* here today. In his opinion, the blame for Bulgaria's present state falls on the "tyrants in political and economic life who identified themselves with power, the party and the people." They are the people who meddled in culture, education and health care, the present "spotless, party secretaries and lecturers of Marxism-Leninism, Mr. Tsonev added. When asked if he would name these people, he answered that he considers Mr. Aleksandur Lilov the ideologist of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. As regards Mr. Andrey Lukanov, Mr. Tsonev said the following: "The man who keeps the secret about the national catastrophe is Andrey Lukanov, he is the one who signed the foreign trade agreements and the one who knows the real situation with the debts and the investments. If he has courage, he must step out and say how much we owe and how much others owe us."

BSP 'Movement for Radical' Change Analyzed

AU0304135391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Interview with Yanaki Stoilov, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Movement for Radical Change in the Bulgarian Socialist Party, by Dora Chichkova; place and date not given: "Reformist Movement Within the BSP Is Once More Emerging from the 'Underground'"—first two paragraphs are DUMA's introduction]

[Text] At its constituent conference at the end of July 1990 the Movement for Radical Reform in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] assumed several tasks that were expected to clarify the special nature of the movement's activities prior to the 39th BSP Congress. By the end of September 1990, a week following the congress, the radicals had declared their intention to remain within the BSP as a sort of internal opposition. At the end of March 1991, on Saturday 30 March, the Socialist Party reformers are meeting in their third nationwide forum.

On this occasion we asked Yanaki Stoilov, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Radical Reform Movement, for an interview.

[Chichkova] At a time when many people are asking themselves whether a Movement for Radical Reform still exists within the BSP, the movement's leadership has convened the Third Nationwide Conference. What are you going to discuss?

[Stoilov] We pursue the following two goals: To analyze the new and rapidly changing situation in the country; to discuss and adopt our own program of action. Without underestimating the increasing efforts of the BSP to clarify the party's ideological image, we would like to devote more attention to the party's practical work. The questions we should answer, or at least the questions we intend to raise at our conference, apply not only to our members, affect not only all Socialists, but should involve considerably wider strata of our society.

As far as the question of our movement's existence is concerned...its non-existence would mean that you consider us to be some kind of magicians trying to create the illusion of some imaginary reality.

[Chichkova] Nevertheless, people are talking about a crisis in your movement. Barely 1 percent of those who renewed their BSP membership have declared their support for different ideological currents....

[Stoilov] Certain organizational difficulties contributed to the crisis. It was made worse by the dissatisfaction of the majority of Socialists with the results of the last BSP Congress. Instead of rallying and inspiring the reformers, the congress actually alienated many of them from the party's problems.... It is true that many of us are no longer as enthusiastic as last summer and others have withdrawn from political life or have joined other political formations. It is, however, true that in many places the Clubs for Radical Change, the organizations of the Alternative Socialist Organization [ASO], and the "Road to Europe" Movement are cooperating closely and sometimes uniting.

The major difficulties facing our movement today are caused by the current sociopolitical reality. They result from the immature social structures, the severe economic crisis, the chaotic political changes, the exaggerated and emotional ideologization of everyday life, and so forth.

[Chichkova] What are the main points of criticism that the internal party opposition, as you call yourselves, raise against the official BSP policy conducted by the party's leadership?

[Stoilov] The BSP leadership responds spontaneously to the pressure of events rather than acting in accordance with a specific line of political behavior. Apart from consistent support for the peaceful transition to democracy, the BSP has not proposed a specific socioeconomic program and a long-term policy on the nationality issue. The BSP, like all other political organizations in our country, relies excessively on ideological-political and emotional factors instead of focusing attention on the citizens' long-term interests. It has failed to establish the limits of social support for the government, to determine how far the BSP, as one of the parties making up the government, should bear the consequences of the government's measures.

In its present form the BSP Supreme Council cannot be a competent and efficient center of political leadership. The work of the Presidium, which has far too many members and redundant members, is obstructed by too

many opposing personal and group interests, which frequently prevail over important party issues.

[Chichkova] Do you consider the question of the party's guilt and responsibility closed after the latest BSP Supreme Council plenum?

[Stoilov] The issue will certainly be discussed at our forthcoming conference. It cannot be passed over in silence. Unfortunately we failed in our efforts to have this problem dealt with in a speedy fashion.

The most important thing today is to explain why the historical events in our country developed in this particular manner and how we got involved in this particular situation. The use of the term "distortions" in the documents of the BSP Supreme Council, however, reveals a fundamental, methodological mistake. It shows an attempt to substitute the delusion of an ideal model that has been distorted for analysis of the reality. The foundations of the established system have not been revealed in their full ramifications.

I am certain that a frank and analytical discussion with the people about the party's responsibility is likely to accelerate the catharsis of the BSP and to satisfy the majority of its members.

BSP: Country's Second Largest Property Owner

AU0404150691 Sofia BTA in English 1409 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 4 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Socialist Party is the second largest owner in Bulgaria after the state, "TRUD" and "DEMOKRATSIYA" write today. Socialists have inherited from the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] property valued at an estimated half a billion leva, the dailies write, quoting a report which the party submitted to the competent parliamentary committee yesterday.

Last year the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] handed 172 million leva's worth of property to the state, but it also acquired property amounting to 20 million. It outlayed the equivalent of 1 million leva in hard currency the last year, while the revenues of the BCP/BSP ran up to 870 million leva over the last five years, "DEMOKRATSIYA" writes.

Second Republican Party Joins SDS

AU0304155591 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 29 Mar 91 p 3

[Polina Mikhaylova report: "The Republican Party Is a New Member of the Union of Democratic Forces"]

[Text] The Republican Party [Republikanska Partiya], chaired by Mr. Lenko Ruslanov, has been accepted as a member, with observer status, of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. A clarification is called for at this point, considering that another Republican Party, the Republican Party in Bulgaria [Republikanska Partiya v Bulgaria] already exists and is chaired by Doctor Aleksandur Popov. (The difference between the two republican parties is that Aleksandur Popov's group has not distanced itself from the Marxist ideology. It accepts the thesis that the three types of property are equivalent, and follows a social orientation that is similar, or even very close to the principles contained in the Bulgarian Socialist Party's program).

The Republican Party headed by Lenko Rusinov is the direct successor and continuer of the party that was established immediately following 9 September 1944 under the same name. It existed for a very short time, however, having been accused of pro-American feelings.

The program of the Republican Party supports the principle of a strong presidential institution and calls for direct presidential elections, while the models for the country's political, economic, and social development are aimed at eliminating the Communist, totalitarian regime.

Zhivkov's Defense May Request Trial Suspension

AU0404173291 Sofia BTA in English 1626 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 4 (BTA)—Todor Zhivkov's defense team may soon request that his trial be suspended and the case referred for reinvestigation.

According to one of Zhivkov's defense lawyers the trial might develop in three ways. Ms. Reni Tsanova prefers the "eat-your-cake- and-have-it" option which means that the court would sustain the request of the defense and return the case to the preliminary investigation stage. Ms. Tsanova told the BTA that there is yet another option: the court sustains the request of the prosecutor to hear all the witnesses. This may lead to the adjournment of the trial because 40 of the 203 witnesses called so far have failed to give evidence for different reasons. The total number of witnesses is 247 but the list might be expanded at the request of either party.

The last possibility: the court rules that the evidence collected so far is sufficient, overrules the requests of the prosecutor and the defense, moves ahead with the pleadings and passes a sentence. Ms. Tsanova would not commit herself to a prediction as to which of the options will be the most likely one.

So far the court has sustained two of the defense's requests: to deblock the assets of Zhivkov and Balev and to file all case records (38 of the 108 volumes of case records concerning the forced assimilation of the ethnic Turks and the economic crisis had been taken out of the case). The court overruled the objection of Prosecutor Krasimir Zhekov and did not reconsider its decision concerning the case records.

Today the witnesses testified on the charges against Milko Balev connected with the publication of Zhivkov's works. "I am surprised that the matter is raised here at

all," Zhivkov put in, referring to the charges against Milko Balev. The former No. 1 was just as surprised two months ago when he was called to testify at the trial of a former minister who had arranged the university course of Zhivkov's grandson at government expense.

Zhivkov called on the court "not to be too particular."

An Italian journalist who has come to Bulgaria for the trial asked Zhivkov what he thought about Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Gorbachev. "I can't answer the question. My lawyers have forbidden me to talk till the end of the trial," Zhivkov said, beaming as usual.

BSP Rally Celebrates Socialist Press

AU0504091791 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 1 Apr 91 p 1

[Text] Plovdiv, 31 March—On the basis of its published Political Declaration, the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is the only party to engage in a self-critical analysis. Filip Bokov [member of the BSP Supreme Council), stated that such an act required a great deal of political courage. He spoke at a news conference attended by numerous journalists held by the BSP leadership and its legislative group in Plovdiv on the occasion of a BSP public rally devoted to the festival of the Socialist press.

According to Filip Bokov, contemporaries cannot be judged, while only history and the constituents will provide the correct answer to the question about their guilt. No matter what kind of document we would have drafted, a certain part of society would remain dissatisfied, he stressed. Petur Balabanov, deputy chairman of the BSP legislative group, said that the declaration should perhaps have been published at an earlier stage. It will continue to stir the emotions of the Socialists and their supporters, while the accusations launched by Aleksandur Yordanov [Union of Democratic Forces spokesman] remind us of the insults with which our former media used to attack the U.S. imperialists for hanging negroes in Alabama. Dimitur Yonchev added that the discussions about the party's past are in their initial stage. I expect similar comments from Petur Dertliev and Viktor Vulkov....he said. As far as Filip Dimitrov is concerned, he simply supports the view that only those who like each other engage in politics. For the time being, however, politics are made by people who disagree; love is something else, Balabanov pointed out.

Filip Bokov answered a question about relations between the BSP and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. He declared that the party is now working on a paper expected to be submitted to the other political forces. The document will insist on the unconditional guarantee of the people's individual rights and on signing an agreement about the country's integrity that should exclude all political organizations established on the basis of ethnic principles. Stefan Prodev specified that people all over the world are struggling for human rights and not for the rights of minorities. He added that the party's statement clearly explaining its views on the nationality issue was somewhat belated. Our stand on this issue is likely to rouse the antagonism of certain social circles, but the nation will understand us. Petya Shopova insisted on establishing a movement in defense of Ahmed Dogan.

Ludzhev Relieves Intelligence Officers of Duties

AU0304153591 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 29 Mar 91 p 2

[Branimir Yankov report: "Changes in the Intelligence Service"]

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev recently paid a visit to the National Intelligence Service (the former First Main Department of the State Security). At a meeting with the leading staff of the intelligence service, Dimitur Ludzhev fulfilled an important task entrusted to him, namely to relieve General Georgi Manchev and Colonel Ivan Gaydarov, deputy directors of the intelligence service, of their duties.

The same decision contains another instruction related to intelligence activities in accordance with the new political situation, namely that—in view of our country's future international contacts—intelligence activities related to political, economic, and scientific-technical matters in Western countries are banned.

The intelligence official who provided the information to us, expressed his personal opinion that the further inactivity of the intelligence service is only likely to accelerate the incipient occupational wasting away of the staff, precisely at a moment when the foreign special services are intensifying their activities.

Sofia's 'Acute' Environmental Problems Viewed

AU0404204891 Sofia BTA in English 1937 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April (BTA)—Eighty-four percent of Sofianites breathe hopelessly polluted air. The registered noise levels are 40 percent higher than the permissible limits. Last year each Sofianite was ill more than twice and each child under 14 was ill more than four times.

Sofia's numerous and acute environmental problems will be discussed at a conference on Sofia's environment: state and perspectives, it was said at a press conference today.

The idea of the conference will be to make public the actual environmental situation in Sofia and to find ways for a prompt solution of the problems. The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB), the principal organizer of the conference, will use statistics to call for safe and healthy working and living conditions. The Sofia City Council and the Ministries of Finance, Health and the Environment will use the findings and recommendations in their search for a way out of the present environmental situation.

"We are not seeking dividends. We want to tell the people the truth and to teach them how to protect themselves," said Mr. Zhelyazko Khristov, KNSB vice president. Mr. Khristov explained that in its efforts to solve certain environmental problems the confederation has lost some of its membership. *According to him, there* are bureaucrats who manipulate the workers, taking advantage of their ignorance of environmental issues. They manage to convince them that the confederation wants to force them out of work. According to Mr. Khristov, there have been such cases in some metal works despite the fact that the confederation has tried not only to solve the environmental problems but also to provide employment opportunities for the workers.

Today's news conference disclosed the truth about Sofia's environmental map whose drafting started in 1981 on the initiative of Sofia People's Council and the State Council for the Purpose of "Protecting and Harmonizing" the Environment. Originally, the idea was to keep Sofianites updated on pollution readings every evening and to suggest precautions for the following day. The startling results of the 1986 tests sealed the fate of the map. *Ms. Ekaterina Gyulemetova*, head designer at Sofproekt's Ecology Department, said: "Designers were horrified by the results, but the chiefs of Sofia City Council and the City Committee of the Bulgarian Communist (now Socialist) Party were even more horrified." According to her, the former chiefs were mainly concerned about pollution in their own residential areas. Work on the environmental map was banned, only to be resumed in 1990. Ms. Gyulemetova sees the future of the map as a periodical publication, covering both negative and positive aspects of Sofia's environmental profile as long as problems exist.

Meciar: Present Federation 'Not Functional'

LD0304214391 Prague CTK in English 2012 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 3 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said here today that though the present model of the Czechoslovak federation is "not functional", Czechoslovak statehood is in the interest of both Czechs and Slovaks.

Meciar was speaking at a meeting with representatives of the assembly of political parties, movements and associations in Czechoslovakia. The assembly was founded in February 1990 and it embraces over 90 political parties, movements and associations which are not represented in the Czechoslovak parliament.

The Slovak premier said today's meeting should mark the beginning of a broad dialogue on the coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks in one state. It should put a stop to the unqualified debate in the press, Meciar said.

The future state setup of Czechoslovakia has been under discussion in connection with the drafting of new constitutions of the federal and the two national republics (Czech and Slovak).

Meciar said that there is support for various options regarding the future model for the country, including a federation, a confederation and a union. But the common denominator is the interest in the preservation of the common state established in 1918.

Referring to the Slovak Republic, the smaller of the two constituent parts of Czechoslovakia, Meciar said the image of Slovakia often painted abroad - bearing the features of nationalism, chauvinism, separatism and fascism - does not conform to reality.

Meciar also mentioned the process of differentiation within the Public Against Violence movement (VPN), which won the June parliamentary elections together with the Civic Forum movement in the Czech lands last June. He said the two factions, into which the VPN split at the beginning of March take different views on the national element in politics, on the country's economic reform and its social consequences, and on the political orientation of the VPN.

VPN Official on Adoption of Constitution

LD0304231191 Prague CTK in English 1514 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 3 (CTK)—Chairman of the Public Against Violence (VPN) coordinating centre Juraj Flamik told journalists today that only constitutional procedures will make it possible to avoid situations in Czechoslovakia like those now existing in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

Speaking at a regular briefing he said that VPN, the public movement which won last year's parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia together with the Czech Civic Forum (OF), has always taken the stand that the constitutions - federal, Czech and Slovak - must be adopted in a legitimate way.

Flamik said that now that the new constitutions are being worked out the Slovak parliament has two options: either to adopt a constitution which would proceed from the existence of the Slovak Republic as part of the federation of two equal republics (Slovak and Czech) or to pass a constitution which would be tantamount to the declaration of an independent state leaving open the possibility of entering into a union with any other state. He said that not all those who propose the latter option realize the legal, constitutional and international implications of such an act.

Flamik referred indirectly to suggestions made especially by the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) in Slovakia that the Czechoslovak Federation be formed on the basis of a state treaty between its two constituent republics. Opponents of this method say that in legal terms a state treaty is not acceptable because it would have to be preceded by a dissolution of the existing federal state.

Flamik said that VPN intends to propose the methods of adopting the Slovak constitution as the constitution of a sovereign national republic and also the methods of passing the federal constitution. "VPN does not rule out any solutions but it will insist on a constitutional procedure. It is opposed to the interruption of the constitutional integrity and existence of the common state even for a moment", the VPN representative said.

Slovak Coalition Discusses Republic Coexistence

LD0404152891 Prague CTK in English 1332 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 4 (CTK)—Slovak Government coalition partners agreed Wednesday to support coexistence between sovereign Czech and Slovak Republics on the basis of a state treaty and the basing of a federal constitution on those of the two republics.

Referring to the talks between representatives of the Public Against Violence (VPN), its faction 'For Democratic Slovakia', the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), and the Democratic Party (DS), KDH Chief Secretary Jan Petrik said today they had agreed on April 15 as the deadline for accepting drafts of the Slovak constitution. Preparatory work on the constitution will then move to the Slovak parliamentary committees. The Slovak constitution is expected to be passed by the end of June but KDH sees a possible postponement to the end of September if a federal constitution is to be passed by October 28, 1991, as proposed by President Vaclav Havel. Havel suggested that the three constitutions be simultaneously adopted by the three parliaments.

Petrik noted the negative Czech response to Slovakia's proposal to conclude a state treaty between the two republics. Czech Premier Petr Pithart recently said such

a treaty could be considered but Czech parliament Chairwoman Dagmar Buresova has opposed it, claiming that a state treaty would require the disintegration, even if only symbolic, of the federation. Said Petrik: "Czech partners should try to understand our point of view. They should consult with Slovak politicians about these issues or at least with parties in the government coalition, in order to see that secession is not our aim". He said he thought Czechs needed time to accept the Slovak concept and he hoped "we can reach agreement on a christian basis".

Asked about relations between Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and First Deputy Premier and KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky, Petrik said there exists a degree of understanding between the two as they are well aware that any disagreements would destabilize the situation, paralyze the government's ability to act and have adverse consequences for Slovakia as a whole.

Meciar Claims Opponents Seek To Discredit Him

LD0404170891 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Stanislav Katrinec in Nitra on 3 April—recorded]

[Text] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's visit to Nitra last night is not exactly the latest report. We reported it yesterday. However, in last night's Radiojournal, we were naturally able to report only what happened before 1830. Afterwards, right up to the late hours of the evening, the prime minister attended a special district assembly of the Public Against Violence [VPN] where the lower Nitra region definitely joined the platform For Democratic Slovakia. Stanislav Katrinec was one of those who waited for an interview with the Slovak prime minister right up to the end of the assembly.

[Katrinec] Mr. Prime Minister, a little while ago you said that you now get along well even with the Christian Democratic Movement. But the daily VEREJNOST wrote that cherry leaves [communist insignia] are beginning to grow on the branch you have pulled away from the VPN body. What, then, is the situation?

[Meciar] I do nOt understand this very well. If the point at issue is that they would like to see a connection between the Communist Party and ourselves at any cost, then we should not speak about a branch that was pulled away. These are simply the roots from which the tree grows, from which a new and stronger tree grows. This is a healthy tree; it will grow and its prospects are brighter. If one has to resort to a lie to get along, then this person is weak. As far as relations with the Communist Party are concerned, I more or less described them publicly during my trip to Moscow. As far as relations between our platform and other legislative parties and movements are concerned, they proceed from the need to attain at least 90 votes when endorsing the Slovak Republic constitution. For us the objective and the benefit of the republic represents a higher target than a narrow party interest, and we shall therefore be collecting 90 votes from the Slovak Republic votes and help mold the final shape with our own hands.

[Katrinec] Since you mentioned your visit to Moscow, your pronouncement concerning secret talks with Soviet generals was intepreted seriously, not just by the Czech press, but also by the already mentioned daily VEREJNOST.

[Meciar] Look here, the measures to discredit me started in fact as early as before the assembly in Topolcany [VPN assembly where the movement split occurred]. Two days after this congress, the moves for my recall were started, although these were not the conclusions of the assembly. The whole matter was presented in such a way that Meciar should be recalled because he made certain mistakes. Because no mistakes existed, it was necessary to make them up. Thus a theory was thought up of a left-wing coup and all other mistakes, which, as it transpires in the legislature today, are toppling one after another. They constituted a nonexistent collection of lies, untruths, or half-truths. At present the method of work that is in use is to analyze verbal pronouncements, and as you can see I am talking without previous preparation, without using written speeches. For example, in the first row where we sat, there were at least three people I knew who wrote down every word I said to analyze things later in the coordination center. They will feed it into a machine, compare it with my previous speeches, and try to establish whether just by accident another verbatim version might exist somewhere. And should this version exist, they analyze it in the newspapers and in public and speak about the offences I have committed. This is a dirty job, and this not how politics should be conducted.

Meciar Interviewed on VPN Movement, ZDS

AU0504122891

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 2 April on pages 1, 3, and 4, under the headline "Lesson of Crisis Number 2?" publishes an 8,000-word speech by Vladimir Meciar, prime minister of the Slovak Republic, read at the working meeting of the Public Against Violence platform For Democratic Slovakia [ZDS] in Martin on 23 March. Meciar begins his speech by emphasizing the significance of the meeting "because if the issue of civic movements is investigated in Slovakia, one learns that a civic movement is responsible for the fall of the old regime, and civic movements gave the development of the society its basic direction, meaning, content, and organization." Next, Meciar reiterates the genesis of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement, emphasizing the movement's orientation on the citizen. He speaks of the success in the legislative elections but questions the results achieved by the VPN in the local elections. "The assessments of the elections varied. You remember statements to the effect that the local elections were a tremendous VPN success. Already, we were not telling the truth." He says that the election outcome was

described as a victory over the Slovak National Party [SNS], while the SNS candidates stood for election in less than 10 percent of communities, and if one counts the number of votes, then the SNS received far too many of them. "We kept quiet about the fact that the members of the Communist Party obtained in these elections more than 30 percent mayoralties." Moreover, Meciar says, "it did not teach us any lesson."

The Trnava assembly took place with a delay and, as Meciar says, VPN wasted its chance to deal with the fundamental problems. One of the problems identified by Meciar is the decline in popularity of the movement. The reason for the decline, he says, is the underrating of the population's interests. "Typical of this underrating are statements by Fedor Gal who declared that he does not mind if only three percent of the population votes for the VPN in the next elections." As a result, Meciar says that as early as December he "asked for a democratic union to be formed on the basis of the VPN, which would allow for a narrower specification of political views, for a possibility to form political groupings within the VPN." This, however, was not accepted. Meciar goes on to explain that the new platform does not mean a deviation from the original VPN policy statement. It is the VPN itself that is changing its orientation toward the right. An extraordinary council of the VPN was called, according to Meciar, to discuss the differences within the movement. However, "instead of a discussion, a motion was made that the prime minister and Minister Knazko be recalled." Meciar describes the situation as an attempt to eliminate anybody who holds different views. As he says, the European political authority, Alexander Dubcek, warned the VPN Council against such proceedings, but his letter was read only after five hours of discussions and a direct request by one of the deputies. "This attempt at manipulating public opinion was the last straw. Therefore, some Trnava-initiative delegates proposed leaving and we joined them. It was not meant as a subversion of the VPN. Meciar goes on to insist that the his main goal and that of his followers is to maintain the VPN policies.

Meciar speaks about the Topolcany assembly next. According to him, the assembly voted whether the chairman of the council should be chosen openly in the assembly or in a secret ballot in the council. Meciar preferred secret-ballot voting in the council so it would not be necessary to call the assembly every time the chairman is to be changed. This voting was later interpreted, Meciar says, so that "those who voted for the secret ballot in the council expressed their distrust in the prime minister." Actually, according to Meciar, "even before the meeting of the VPN council, Federal Assembly deputies met, and although it was not said directly, unequivocal indications were given that a variant A, i.e. recalling of the prime minister, was prepared, and a survey of the Slovak National Council deputies was conducted as to what their reaction would be to changes in the government." Meciar explains it as "a decision of a certain group to destabilize the government." Moreover, according to him, these people used the coincidence that the new platform (ZDS) was formed at the time of the anniversary of the World War II Slovak state to label it as an association of chauvinists and separatists. However, according to Meciar, the opposite is true. The ZDS does not want to break up the Republic, it wants to reinforce and protect the federation. ZDS members are not "opposing Czechs but some politicians." Another topic Meciar discusses is the alleged leftist coup. He describes it as him trying to overthrow himself. Of the so-called participants in this coup, Meciar singles out the Obroda (Revival). In this case, he calls the accusation dangerous, for the Obroda has become a collective member of the VPN and as such it proposed the candidacy of Alexander Dubcek. Thus the latter became a deputy for the VPN, and doubting the Obroda means to doubt his political background; hence "the dirty fingers pointed directly at him." All these things are intrigues, Meciar says, like the accusations of his government of threats to Czechs, Hungarians, and Jews whom, in fact, his government protects. Another accusation Meciar mentions is that he wants to grab all the power he can and that he wants to become the VPN chairman. According to him, this issue arose at the time of the Budaj affair, when "Gal announced that he would resign because he cannot work with Budaj." This split the movement into supporters and adversaries of Budaj, but Gal has not resigned. The apparent need led some VPN members to forward my candidacy for the post.

It is claimed that the ZDS is an illegitimate body, Meciar continues, but that would require a violation of some regulation, and this has not occurred as there are no guidelines for founding a new platform. Meciar expresses his support for platforms and clubs within his movement, but he strongly opposes any separation of the leadership or representation, as well as appointments from the representation to some administrative posts. A handful of functionaries in the center would not be a true representation of the citizens, he says. The representation needed is one that works. "The only right we obtained by being elected is the right to work ourselves to death in the service of Slovakia and our citizens."

Meciar resists the notion of indirect elections, and therefore he says that in the ZDS "We should not repeat the errors of the VPN Coordinating Center and form our bodies by a mediated method, so that a smaller and smaller body is formed up to the level of the presidium, because this approach only appears to be democratic." He insists that the primary units should be free to choose their representatives at all levels. Meciar does not want ivory towers, he says, the will and interests of the people are of the utmost importance.

An example of differences between the views of the VPN and the ZDS is their attitude to the new Slovak and federal constitutions. Meciar says that the ZDS wants to build the federation from below, and therefore he is criticized for denouncing Prague. However, Meciar insists that he is not disparaging Prague, but rather the practices exercised by the center that has its seat there.

Far- reaching agreements like those concerning the constitution cannot be decided on by a narrow circle of people. In general, Meciar continues, a consensus must be reached even with the members of the opposition, for in the Slovak National Council, 90 votes are needed to pass a law, and that is more than the coalition parties have.

Meciar also recalls the incident with Slovak Television—not only that he canceled his last weekly address because he suspected that it would be censored, but he asserts that his television appearance a week earlier took place only because his technician friends delayed the already issued ban.

Meciar goes on to list errors made by the VPN: changes must be introduced to local self-administrations; promises made to support the socially weak were taken up by the Slovak National Party; the VPN should fulfill charity obligations; the safety of the republic and of the citizens should be provided by the promised rebuilding of the police force; and all these things and more should be done with the citizen in mind.

This leads Meciar to the idea of inseparability of the civic and of the national attributes. Therefore, although "we want to build Czechoslovakia as a common state, it must be a sovereign state first." He goes on to reject accusations of chauvinism and refers to and repeats his examples from an earlier speech. "We do not want to destroy the federation, we want to change it," Meciar repeats, and a part of this is an engagement of Slovakia in foreign policies. It is unfair, according to Meciar, if foreign travel by other politicians is tolerated—as in the case of Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart—but when Slovak politicians conduct business abroad, they are sharply criticized. The effectiveness of Slovak foreign policy is demonstrated by the Hungarian president's visit with Slovaks in Hungary and his promise of assistance.

Meciar criticizes the Slovak version of the land bill, which includes the return of land confiscated in 1945 to the enemies of the Slovak Republic. Moreover, although the wrongs done should be made up to the victims, the restitutions interfere with the reforms and indirectly harm the future generations. In this context, Meciar refutes accusations that he and his government colleagues are against the reforms. They want to adjust them to Slovak needs and, above all, establish the priorities first.

According to Meciar, it was a mistake for the VPN to have left the enterprises, and it should cooperate with the trade unions. The ZDS remains under the flag of the VPN, Meciar says, "but we want recognition as an independent and equal component of the movement. We demand that a common umbrella body be formed that would coordinate the fulfillment of the movement's program 'A Chance for Slovakia' until the new constitution is adopted and a new election campaign started." Since the movement is financed on the basis of votes obtained in the elections, and most votes were obtained by members of ZDS, Meciar asks that the funds be redistributed accordingly. He demands that the situation in the movement be settled fast, because a lot of energy is wasted in trying to deal with problems derived from the status quo.

Regarding the composition of the government, Meciar says that "two members claim neutrality, five say that they go with Gal, five with Meciar, two proclaimed—actually one so far, Kucerak—that he would not be in such a government. So I believe that the government must be rebuilt." Interesting is the situation in the Slovak National Council, Meciar says, wherein if the ZDS does not work with the VPN, the Christian Democratic Movement will have the majority of votes with all the accompanying rights. Meciar toys with the idea that the Slovak National Council chairman should be above party politics. Meciar concludes, however, that the main issues are "service to the country, the nation, the population, and its nationalities."

Slovak Shareholding Company Establishment Delayed

AU0404093991 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Mar 91 p 2

[Stanislav Tomanek report: "Is the Transpetrol Shareholding Company Anti-Constitutional?"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Transpetrol shareholding company based in Bratislava should have been established as of 1 April. This was confirmed by the signatures of the Czech and Slovak Deputy Prime Ministers F. Vlasak and J. Kucerak, CSFR Economy Minister V. Dlouhy, and the republican Industry Ministers J. Vrba and J. Holcik. The agreement concluded on 8 January stipulated, among other things, that six Slovak Republic representatives, three Czech Republic representatives, and two federal representatives would form the Transpetrol shareholding company's administrative board. This was in harmony with the ratio of capital assets and with the costs incurred in operating the pipelines. However, the Slovak representatives discovered at the Federal Economy Ministry this week that everything is completely different....

"We went to Prague with Industry Minister Engineer Jan Holcik for consultations on the document 'State Influence on Managing Oil Economically During the Period Prior to the Complete Introduction of a Market System in the CSFR,'said Ladislav Sandtner, director of a Slovak Industry Ministry department. "Before the consultation, Mr. Kunir, director of the Federal Economy Ministry Legal Department, told us that legislative issues prevent the Transpetrol shareholding company from being established. According to Mr. Kunir, the establishment of Transpetrol—in reference to Article 4 of the jurisdiction law—is an anticonstitutional act. He said that the Federal Economy Ministry is already working on

a draft of the appropriate law that, apparently, the Federal Assembly could debate in two months. You can imagine, following the preceding negotiations, that we were absolutely flabbergasted...."

A typical course of action.... Although we are used to all of this from the negotiations on the oil and gas pipelines! Obviously, every month that profits from operating the pipelines flow into Prague coffers is extraordinarily welcome! We are afraid that large and small "Pittsburgh" agreements will for a long time form part of the local color in negotiations between the center and the republics. By the way, Article 9 of the jurisdiction law determines the status quo in the case of pipelines.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Mr. Director, can you tell us what the consequences of this original course of action by the federal ministry will be?

[Sandtner] By the way, I do not know of any other country that would establish a shareholding company by a parliamentary law.... As of 1 April, we should have begun work on transferring the oil pipeline across Zitny Island; this was in connection with the Transpetrol shareholding company. I do not know how we will continue to negotiate with our foreign partners who promised us financial resources in this connection. Let me just mention the French company Elf Aquitaine. The largest underground supplies of drinking water in Central Europe continue to face a grave threat from a possible disaster involving the 28-year-old pipes. Naturally, the modernization of the CSFR's oil and supply pipeline network will also be delayed."

Situation of Slovaks in Army Outlined

AU0404085091 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Apr 91 p 6

[Interview with Dr. Antonin Rasek, deputy defense minister, Dr. Frantisek Novotny, Defense Ministry adviser on religious issues, and Dr. Zdenek Borovec, head of the Defense Ministry Public Relations Office, by Anton Fillo in Bratislava; date not given: "Our Army Is Undergoing a Process of Change"—first paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction; respondents are not identified]

[Excerpts] Self-critical and cautionary sighs have recently issued forth from the mouths of more than one Czech or Slovak politician that our two nations do not know each other very well. This is probably true since the Czech and Slovak press are publishing a great deal of various misleading reports, half-truths, and even lies. This also fully applies to the Czechoslovak Army. Therefore, we were recently pleased to welcome three representatives from the CSFR Defense Ministry to our editorial office—Dr. Antonin Rasek, deputy minister in charge of social and humanitarian issues, Dr. Frantisek Novotny, an adviser on religious issues, and Dr. Zdenek Borovec, head of the ministry's Public Relations Office.

[Fillo] Many people are saying that, as opposed to the Federal or Republican Interior Ministries, not much has changed in the Army since 17 November. Is this true?

[Answer] We have abolished the party political apparatus and military counterintelligence, and we are gradually reducing the size of the Army and its armaments; we are changing the officers' cadres, and we have adopted measures to democratize and humanize Army service. At the moment, the restructuring of the Federal Ministry of Defense—as the supreme body in the Army —is being completed. At the ministry, the political administration section has been separated from the direct command of troops. The chief of the general staff is responsible for overseeing the troops. The political administration or conceptual department is controlled by the minister. A secretariat and four organizational units—the minister's inspectorate, health administration, personnel administration, and the courts—are directly subordinate to him. There are also three other sections—strategic management, economic management, and the department for humanitarian and social affairs, which has five administrations. [passage omitted]

[Fillo] The establishment of two new military associations—the Miroslav Rastislav Stefanik Legion and the Association of Slovak Soldiers—has aroused a great deal of discussion among the public. What is your opinion?

[Answer] I think this is a natural democratic process. Many special interest or professional movements and associations have been established in the Army and in civilian life; we consider this to be logical. For example, approximately 450 different clubs and associations have ties with the Bundeswehr in Germany. Therefore, our soldiers also have a right to express their opinions and ideas. I personally think that a rather large part of their program is positive since it reacts to certain problems in the Army. It is also true that some of the issues raised by the above-mentioned two associations are problematic, especially those instances where they raise the issue of two armies.

[Fillo] Representatives from these two military associations—as well as from others—reproach the Army leadership for the inadequate number of professional Slovak soldiers among the Army's senior ranks. What is the real situation?

[Answer] They would discover the truth if they were to return to the past. Until 1938, only 4.6 percent of professional soldiers were Slovaks; of the 140 generals, there was only one Slovak—Division General Rudolf Viest. The situation gradually improved, and in 1968, 20 percent of officers and noncommissioned officers were Slovaks. At the moment, the situation is as follows: Of the four deputy defense ministers, three are Slovaks; of the heads of ministry administrations and their deputies, 22 percent are Slovaks; 30 percent of military and air attaches are Slovaks; of the commanders of military districts, their deputies, and heads of administrations

and departments—including the Air Force and the state's anti-aircraft defense—almost 45 percent are Slovaks. Thirty two percent of the generals are Slovaks.

[Fillo] Among the demands made by the Association of Slovak Soldiers is the establishment of an independent military college....

[Answer] I do not know if they realize how much money this would cost. After all, the material and technical construction of the Ground Forces Military College in Vyskov cost 860 billion korunas alone. It is necessary to state openly that more military colleges and high schools are, at the moment, located in Slovakia than in the Czech lands. However, we do acknowledge the criticism about the military press where only 10 of the 74 military editors are Slovaks. [passage omitted]

Decisions of Czech National Council Reported

AU0404091391

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 27, 28, and 29 March publishes "st"-signed correspondents' reports, ranging from 650 to 1,000 words, on the three-day 17th meeting of the Czech National Council, held in Prague from 26 to 28 March.

On 27 March, on page 2, under the headline "Communities: An Element of the Social Net," HOSPODARSKE NOVINY carries a 650-word "st"-signed report on the opening day of the meeting. According to the report, the Czech legislature first decided to postpone the debate on the law on the property of communities. The reason for the postponement was to prevent a possible "collision" between this law and the law on land, which is currently being debated in the Federal Assembly. As the HOSPODARSKE NOVINY correspondent explains, it is still unclear whether, under the law on land, communities will qualify for the restitution of nationalized land formerly owned by them.

The next item on the agenda was an amendment to the law on gamekeeping. The amendment provides for the extension of the current contracts between gamekeepers and landowners until the end of 1993. The motive for the amendment was the fear that the new private owners of forests might not respect standards for the minimum number of game animals "in the pursuit of maximum profit."

The second law passed on the opening day of the Czech National Council meeting was the "Law on Changes in the Jurisdiction of Czech Republic Bodies and Communities in the Area of Social Insurance." The law defines the responsibilities of district and local authorities in the provision of social services.

As the last item on its agenda, the 26 March session of the Czech National Council "relieved some professional judges of their duties and elected over 30 new professional judges."

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 28 March on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "Open Dialogue With the Government," carries a 1,000-word "st"-signed report on the second day of the Czech legislature meeting. The entire day was devoted to deputies' interpellations, which concerned the constitutional arrangement of the state and Czech-Slovak relations, the government's approach to Sudeten German demands for the return of their property, the property of communities, and other economic issues. Czech government ministers' replies to the interpellations, as reported by HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, did not add anything to previously reported official statements on the above issues.

On 29 March, on page 2, under the headline "The Legislature Was Looking for the Minister," HOSPODARSKE NOVINY carries a 650-word "st"-signed report on the third and concluding day of the Czech National Council meeting. The agenda of the third day of the meeting included two items—a report of the Czech National Council Screening Commission and a report on the security situation in the Czech Republic.

According to Czech National Council Deputy Chairman J.Kasal, who presented the report of the Screening Commission, the commission has screened all Czech National Council deputies and all employees of the Czech National Council Office. He said that, although the commission has "ascertained some serious facts," it was not able to complete its work because, so far, it has only had access to material of the Federal Ministry of Interior. It has not, on the other hand, "managed to gain access to the archives of military counterintelligence." In the report, Kasal also called for the extension of the commission's powers, arguing that the commission will be unable to "thoroughly clarify individual cases" unless it is provided with the power to investigate and question witnesses. According to the HOSPODARSKE NOVINY report, the question of extending the powers of the Czech National Council Screening Commission will be decided at the next Czech National Council plenary session.

Presenting the report on the security situation in the Czech Republic, Czech Interior Minister T. Sokol explained the financial constraints of his government department. He said that its 1991 budget is only 6 percent, or 4.35 billion korunas, higher than the 1990 budget, which means a decline in real terms. The budget situation makes it barely possible to "maintain the operation of the police service" and does not permit any investments in its improvement. The minister said that he would present a "global report on the security situation" to the Czech National Council in mid-May.

Deputy Expresses 'Serious Concern' Over KSCM

AU0304143691

[Editorial Report] Prague CESKE NOVINY in Czech No. 13, the supplement to Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech of 27 March, publishes on page 2, 1,000-word "excerpts" from an open letter that Michal Kraus,

deputy to the Czech National Council for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM], sent to members of the KSCM Central Committee. In the undated letter, Kraus expresses "serious concern" about recent developments in the KSCM, saying that it is on the way to becoming a "museum piece" [skanzen] and a "political sect."

Kraus charges that "those who led the party to [its defeat on] 17 November [1989] are beginning to raise their heads again" and are getting ready to "take revenge." Kraus is worried that party members are "increasingly ready to listen to the demagogy and populism" of these people.

Kraus mentions a number of indications that support his concern. He says that "Comrade Hrubes," a member of the KSCM Executive Committee, uses the same words to evaluate his, Kraus', actions "as he used three years ago when I was expelled from the party for violation of internal party discipline." He also points out that unnamed "people who prior to November [1989] organized petitions asking for the condemnation of dissidents" are now coming to the Central Committee "to give advice." Likewise, Kraus accuses "Comrades Valencik and Ransdorf, the party's 'brain'," of trying to build a "uniform party of the Leninist type" again.

In his letter, Kraus criticizes the KSCM Central Committee for refusing to continue the process of internal party reforms initiated at the party congress in Olomouc and describes as naive the hope that, the next time, dissatisfied Civic Forum voters will vote for the Communist Party.

Dlouhy on Administration of U.S. Enterprise Fund

AU0404080991

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 29 March on page 2 carries a 700-word interview with CSFR Minister of Economy Vladimir Dlouhy by Petr Husak entitled "Sixty Million Dollars at Stake." The interview, the place and date of which are not given, deals with the administration and use of the $60 million U.S. Enterprise Fund set up in response to President Bush's initiative to promote private enterprise in Czechoslovakia.

Asked how the money will be distributed, Dlouhy says that as the money is provided by the United States, the Czechoslovak side must meet conditions set by the U.S. side. One of them is that the fund be administered by a nongovernmental institution. In the case of Czechoslovakia, the role of administrator of the fund will be played by representatives of the Czech and Slovak Associations of Entrepreneurs. The second condition is "that there be a steering committee, the composition of which will be confirmed by the American side." Dlouhy notes that the Czechoslovak side has already submitted four candidates for the steering committee, and he expects the executive steering committee to be approved within a month. The U.S. Enterprise Fund already maintains a secretariat in Prague, according to Dlouhy.

Asked who may apply for funds from the U.S. Enterprise Fund, Dlouhy says that it is up to the administrators of the fund and the steering committee to decide which projects to support, but "theoretically, anyone can apply." The minister expects that as soon as the steering committee is approved by the U.S. side, it will issue rules defining, among other things, the maximum and minimum value of projects that can be financed from the fund's resources.

Klaus, Miller on Economic, Social Policies

AU0404090391 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

["(jop)"-signed report: "Heat Will Be More Expensive as of 1 May"]

[Text] Following an agreement with the governments of both republics, subsidies from the federal budget on prices of solid and gaseous fuels and on prices for heating energy supplied to the public for final consumption will be abolished as of 1 May.

Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, who gave a briefing about the CSFR Government decision at a news conference yesterday, also gave a detailed summary of the "compensatory items."

These include, above all, partial compensation for the impact of this measure on pensioners and families with children. As of 1 May, the state compensatory allowance for each child and for each retired person will be increased by 80 korunas per month, and 50 korunas per month will be paid to tenants who are serving in basic or reserve military service. Moreover, from 1 May to the end of this year, the government will provide a subsidy amounting to 1.6 billion korunas—as compensation for the difference between the heating energy price for the public and the real production costs—to suppliers who provide heat from sources larger than 6 megawatts and 1.7 billion korunas to those who supply heat from sources smaller than 6 megawatts; the government will also provide subsidies to local agencies to deal with urgent social cases.

New prices have not been determined yet. They will still be subject to price regulation, and the regime will be governed by a Decree on Heat Management and Payment for Central Heating and Hot Water Supply; this decree will implement a decisive criterion—real and measurable consumption.

The concept of social insurance has also been approved, the basis of which is a unified system of state-provided social insurance to all citizens, with the possibility of [buying] more insurance coverage or voluntary insurance (individual or group insurance). The retirement age

is assumed to be 60 for men and 57 for women (irrespective of the number of children). Petr Miller, CSFR minister of labor and social affairs, said on this subject that, on average, the period for which women receive a pension is 23 years—which is unique—and that 93 percent of women and only 76 percent of men live to retirement age. He also pointed to the fact that this measure is to be implemented in the future and, at present, will have no impact. As of 1 July, working pensioners will have to decide whether they want to receive a pension or a salary, since it will be impossible to receive both. By this, the 22,000 korunas limit imposed on the earnings of these persons will be also dropped. The money saved (1 billion korunas) will immediately be used to further increase the value of pensions as of the same date.

"For some enterprises, the period of easy sales will end," said V. Klaus, commenting on the results of the government's position on the claims of Czechoslovak enterprises abroad. The large scope of these claims is due to the fact that the government provided credit in an amount covering 100 percent of these exports. It was decided that these credits provided by the government will be stopped, with the exception of completing deliveries in accordance with previously concluded contracts. However, principles have been established according to which these "old" credits will be financed. The state will participate in 65 percent of newly established claims in the case of civilian deliveries and in 70 percent in the case of special deliveries. The fee (3 percent) for the government credit will also be abolished.

V. Klaus also had unpleasant news for the publishers of periodicals. The sales tax remains at 22 percent, and possible survival problems could, of course, be dealt with by subsidies from the federal government, republican governments, and other organizations. In a discussion, the economy ministers stressed in particular the danger of the "philosophy of concessions" in tax policy.

In accordance with accepted principles, organizations that conduct entrepreneurial activity can provide wage supplements to compensate for the cost of living, which will be fixed in internal wage regulations or in a collective agreement. This also applies to federally controlled central organizations that are not active in the entrepreneurial sphere. The conditions are set out in the regulations of the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

Vaclav Vales, federal government deputy prime minister, briefed the government on the results of his talks in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. He was restrained in assessing this meeting, despite the fact that the possibility of a goods delivery amounting to 170 million U.S. dollars has been opened (ships, street cars).

V. Klaus said that the changes in the financial management of budget-funded and subsidized organizations represent an important liberalization that will, for example, make it possible for those organizations to acquire secondary financial means for their activity without levies on the state budget. A large number of budget-funded organizations will be allowed to switch to a contribution system.

As a result of the agreement concluded between the CSFR and the United States, the American side will provide $400,000 without any limiting conditions to finance the costs for services during the reconstruction and modernization of the Czechoslovak railroads.

List of Price-Controlled Goods Changed

AU0304130591 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 29 Mar 91 p 1

[CTK report: "Ministry of Finance Announcement: New Regulated Prices"]

[Excerpts] The Federal Ministry of Finance and the Czech and Slovak Ministries of Finance yesterday issued decree No. 04/1991. The decree amends the list of goods with prices that are subject to regulation. The most significant change concerns an 80-percent increase as of 1 April 1991, compared with the present maximum price, in the maximum electricity price for manufacturers and large consumers. In conjunction with this increase, the decree also permits, with effect from 1 April 1991, a 5-percent increase in the maximum prices of railroad freight transportation. Changes in the prices of [price-controlled] consumer goods concern, for example, the setting of a maximum surcharge of 25 percent on [the wholesale price of] detergents, of a 28.5 percent surcharge on toilet paper and wrapping paper, a 25-percent surcharge on cotton and bandages, a 13-percent surcharge on the prices of poultry and poultry and meat products, an 11.5-percent surcharge on dairy products, and an 18-percent surcharge on canned milk and products made of powdered and condensed milk. The maximum surcharge on [the wholesale price of] mineral water has been set at 0.60 korunas per bottle. In connection with the exhaustion of money set aside for subsidizing the price of baby formula, this item is being deleted from the list of products that are subject to maximum prices. [passage omitted]

The complete text of Decree No. 04/1991 will be published in CENOVY VESTNIK [PRICE BULLETIN] issue No. 22 and in HOSPODARSKE NOVINY on 2 April 1991.

Poll Shows Decline in Living Standards

LD0304194591 Prague CTK in English 1840 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 3 (CTK)—The standard of living of three-quarters of Czechoslovak families has deteriorated since the November 1989 revolution, a survey conducted by the Public Opinion Research Institute revealed.

One thousand citizens from all over the country were polled.

In January 1991, the cost of living in Czechoslovakia was 45 per cent higher than in January 1990.

Almost one-quarter of the respondents were afraid they would not be able to cope with the new economic conditions.

A mere 10 per cent were satisfied with the development of their standard of living, while 89 per cent were dissatisfied.

More negative opinions were held in Slovakia, the smaller of the two constituent parts of Czechoslovakia and home of about one-third of the Czechoslovak population: 93 per cent of those polled were dissatisfied with their standard of living (against 87 per cent in the Czech lands).

The worsening financial situation has recently forced every fifth citizen to dig into his savings or to borrow money to buy food and pay bills.

The most frequently cited cause of concern was unemployment followed by the declining standard of living, growing prices and fears of a collapse of the Czechoslovak economy.

Statistical Data on Development of Foreign Trade

AU0504075491

[Editorial Report] Prague TYDENIK HOSPODARSKYCH NOVIN No. 13 of 28 March on page 1 publishes a series of charts (three by eight inches) on the development of Czechoslovak foreign trade in 1990. For the sake of comparison, the charts also include data for 1989. The charts, which are based on Federal Statistical Office data, are subdivided into separate columns for "socialist countries" (i.e. CEMA countries and other countries "with socialist orientation") and "nonsocialist countries," retaining the terminology and methodology used in 1989. There are separate charts for the following "main groups of commodities"—machinery, equipment, and tools; fuels, raw materials, and metals; chemical products, fertilizers, and rubber; and industrial consumer goods.

The chart for machinery, equipment, and tools shows that 1990 exports to "socialist countries" exceeded imports from these countries by 16.4 billion korunas, compared with a surplus of 27.8 billion korunas in 1989. Last year's imports of the above commodities from the "nonsocialist countries," on the other hand, exceeded exports to these countries by 28.7 billion korunas, compared with a deficit of only 12.7 billion korunas in 1989.

The chart for fuels, raw materials, and metals shows that 1990 imports from "socialist countries" exceeded exports by 30.7 billion korunas, compared with 32.4 billion korunas the year before. With respect to "nonsocialist countries," on the other hand, Czechoslovak exports of fuels, raw materials, and metals exceeded imports by 10.7 billion korunas. The surplus in 1989 was 10.6 billion korunas.

The chart for chemicals, fertilizers, and rubber shows that 1990 imports from "socialist countries" were 0.6 billion korunas higher than Czechoslovak exports. The year before, Czechoslovak trade with socialist countries in these commodities was 0.3 billion korunas in surplus. The trade deficit in chemical products in relation with "nonsocialist countries" remained virtually unchanged—it increased from 3.2 billion korunas in 1989 to 3.4 billion korunas in 1990.

The chart for "industrial consumer goods," finally, shows a Czechoslovak trade surplus in relation to both groups of countries. Last year's exports of these products to "socialist countries" exceeded imports by 2.3 billion korunas, compared with 6.6 billion korunas in 1989, while exports to "nonsocialist countries" exceeded imports by 12.2 billion korunas, compared with a 10.2 billion-koruna surplus in 1989.

The charts are accompanied by a 200-word "vl"-signed article, which provides overall data for the development of foreign trade in 1990. It notes that the CSFR's foreign trade balance in 1990 was in the red in relation to countries with a market economy (minus 17 billion korunas) as well as CEMA and socialist-oriented countries (minus 12.9 billion korunas). The deficit was due largely to the "unfavorable development" of trade in engineering products. Whereas in 1989 Czechoslovak exports of engineering products exceeded imports by 15 billion korunas, in 1990 the surplus turned into a 12.3 billion-koruna deficit.

Independent TV Station Starts Broadcasting

AU0404132991 Prague CTK in English 1529 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 3 (CTK)— At 7:30 this evening Prague TV viewers will have their first look at a two-hour block of programming broadcast by the new independent station, "NTV Praha CS."

NTV, or Independent TV, is the first of more than 30 applicants to receive a license for "non-state broadcasting" from a federal governmental commission. The commission has also received over 50 applications for independent radio licenses.

NTV's manager Richard Krause says the station aims to provide its audience with independent news coverage of social, political, and cultural events, offering them an alternative to state-run programming and a different perspective on current events in Czechoslovakia. NTV is a joint-stock company.

Journalists Fear Press Independence Threatened

AU0404133091 Prague CTK in English 0726 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 3 (CTK)— Czechoslovak journalists fear independence of the press threatened by the decision of the Czechoslovak Government not to cut the turnover tax on periodicals and to subsidize dailies and periodicals in which it is particularly interested.

The turnover tax is 22 per cent and the government has turned down the editors' calls for reducing it. This plus the high prices of newsprint and printing might result in the disintegration of the now pluralistic press. According to an analysis made in the Czech Republic, only 28 out of 120 periodicals and seven out of 15 dailies have a chance to survive this year while the chances of journals equal zero. In Slovakia, only two periodicals out of 30 are said to have the chance to exist without subsidies.

Czech and Slovak journalists and editors of periodicals called on the Czechoslovak Government in March to take legal measures to support the press, to abolish the turnover tax, and to support a sound development of the information market.

Referring to the Czechoslovak Government decision of March 28 to preserve the 22 per cent tax and to subsidize only specific periodicals, the Czech independent daily "MLADA FRONTA DNES" wrote that "press makers in Czechoslovakia face a tough struggle for survival." The leftist Czech daily "RUDE PRAVO" wrote that the government decision "indicates that this government is going to violate the valid law on economic competition less than two months after it had been passed in the Federal Assembly." The Czech daily "OBCANSKY DENIK," close to the Civic Forum movement, wrote that the Czechoslovak Government in fact "reserved itself the right to decide which paper will exist and which will die." Commenting on the possible subsidies of periodicals chosen by the Government it said that such a choice "is nothing but discrimination and does not at all give papers equal chances as it should in a democratic country."

A board of editors-in-chief of Slovak dailies stressed in its statement that the government measures jeopardize the very existence of the press in the whole of Czechoslovakia, restrict the right of people to information, and run counter the democratic and pluralistic development in the country.

Recalled Envoy to Netherlands Defends Himself

AU0304144691

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 28 March on page 5 carries a 700-word "zs"-signed report entitled "I Am as Innocent as a Newborn Lamb." The report summarizes an "extensive material" published in the 27 March issue of the Netherlands daily DE TELEGRAAF on the case of Miroslav Abraham, who was recently recalled from the post of Czechoslovak ambassador to the Netherlands. The DE TELEGRAAF article was published under the headline "Two Spies at the Czechoslovak Embassy in The Hague."

According to the Netherlands newspaper, as quoted by MLADA FRONTA DNES, Abraham, 59, formerly a university teacher in Banska Bystrica, presented his credentials to the queen of the Netherlands on 5 December 1990. On 22 February 1991 he received a telegram informing him of his recall and on 15 March, shortly before President Havel's visit to the Netherlands, he left the post for Czechoslovakia.

In an interview for the Netherlands newspaper, Abraham reportedly said that the CSFR Foreign Ministry first refused to give any reason for his recall. Only later did Deputy Foreign Minister Wagner tell him that the step was taken for "security reasons," because of Abraham's "collaboration with the StB [State Security] in the early fifties."

Abraham describes this accusation as a "scandalous lie." He explains that, prior to a trip to France in the fifties, he was presented by the StB with a "slip of paper with tasks that I was supposed to fulfill while there." The recalled ambassador vows, however, that he "refused to collaborate in any way at that time" and that he has not had any contacts with the StB since then.

In the interview for the Netherlands newspaper, Abraham blames his fall on "the communist mafia that continues to occupy its old positions." He argues that he was the only noncommunist at the CSFR Embassy in The Hague, that most staff members are survivors from the Husak regime, and that "two diplomats sit there who are real spies, for which I have evidential matter." He also believes that "the fact that I was the only Slovak among Czechs certainly also played a role." Abraham complains that neither President Havel nor Foreign Minister Dienstbier have replied to letters in which he presented his case. The only one to have offered his help, according to Abraham, was "Deputy Foreign Minister Suchan. However, he wanted me to employ his sister at the embassy in return."

According to the MLADA FRONTA DNES report, the DE TELEGRAAF article stated that Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek and his predecessor Max van der Stoel "have started to examine the affair."

Prime Minister's Message Passed To Gorbachev

LD0304184191 Budapest MTI in English 1723 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, April 3 (MTI)—Ferenc Somogyi, administrative secretary of state of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, forwarded a letter from Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, in the course of his meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Aleskandr Bessmertnykh, in Moscow on Wednesday.

Following the meeting, in answer to a question by MTI's correspondent regarding the contents of the letter, Somogyi said the Hungarian prime minister had again reconfirmed Hungary's interest in developing Hungarian-Soviet relations.

Somogyi, who is currently on an official visit to Moscow, held talks about bilateral relations with Yuliy Kvitzinskiy, Soviet deputy foreign minister, on Wednesday. The talks focused on the matter of the new Hungarian-Soviet basic contract.

At talks with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov, Somogyi discussed international issues, mainly the prospects of settling the Gulf crisis, the Middle East problem, and the situation that has come about in the southern part of Africa.

Ambassador to Washington To Be Recalled

AU0504094791 Budapest MTI in English 1815 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, 3 April (MTI)—The Hungarian news agency MTI has just learned from Hungarian diplomatic sources in Washington that changes are shortly expected in the leadership of the diplomatic representation of the Republic of Hungary in the United States.

An MTI reporter asked Janos Herman, spokesman for the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, about reports that Hungary's ambassador Peter Zwack is to be recalled from the American capital.

The leadership of the Foreign Ministry has informed Mr Zwack about its intention of relieving him from his current post, the Foreign Ministry spokesman confirmed.

The ambassador has taken note of the move.

Mr Zwack will naturally continue to carry out all his duties as ambassador until his recall, Herman added.

The spokesman told MTI that the Foreign Ministry feels Ambassador Zwack's activity has considerably contributed to improving Hungary's image in the United States, and to promoting two-way economic and business links.

At the same time, he went on, ministry leaders believe that the development of bilateral relations, and of Hungarian-American cooperation now emerging in the international arena, make certain changes in the top embassy posts in Washington necessary.

Herman categorically denied reports that the plan to recall Zwack was linked to differences in political views between the Foreign Ministry and the ambassador.

"There's no question of anything like that", Herman said, and added that a decision on appointing a new ambassador will be taken at a later date.

Zwack's Recall Explained

LD0404073991 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Peter Zwack, our ambassador in Washington, will be recalled this summer.

A spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that Peter Zwack, until his recall, will continue to fulfill his tasks. He categorically denied that there is any differences in political views between the leadership of the ministry and the diplomat. The portfolio justifies the decision by saying that the development of bilateral relations and Hungarian-U.S. cooperation make the change necessary at the Hungarian Embassy in Washington.

Slovak Side Continues Building Gabcikovo Plant

AU0504094691 Budapest MTI in English 1224 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, 3 April (MTI)—As reported on Tuesday, according to information obtained by MTI the Slovak side continued the construction of the Gabcikovo Hydroelectric Power Plant under the so-called "c" version, without the approval of the Hungarian side. Under this version, the water of the Danube would be channelled from the river-bed into a diversion canal on Czechoslovak area so as to operate the turbines of the Gabcikovo station. This is the most disadvantageous alternative from Hungary's point of view.

Gyorgy Jakus, director of the Water Management Directorate of Northern Transdanubia, told MTI that news about the Slovaks' intention to start implementing the "c", version early April had reached the directorate even previously. Over the past few days, however, the Hungarians have not experienced anything to prove that. Although works aimed at diverting the Danube are under way, their final goal cannot yet be specified exactly. Any intervention on the common reach of the river requires preliminary coordination, the director said.

The diversion of the Danube would greatly increase environmental damage to the Hungarian region lying South of the river, implying a decrease in water supply, river pollution, and the withering of plants.

The Slovak side could neither confirm nor deny the news. Jozef Oblozinsky, first deputy director of the Czechoslovak General Contractor, told the Bratislava correspondent of MTI on Wednesday: The "c" version is a temporary solution which would enable us to start the operation of the plant without the Hungarians' involvement. The Czechoslovak side will only resort to it if all the other common solutions have failed. The works that started on April 2 can be interpreted as the beginning of the implementation of the "c" version but they would have been carried out even if the "c" version had not been raised at all. We continue what the Hungarian contractors suspended on Slovakia's territory last year. Preparations for the "c" version have reached a particularly advanced stage, Oblozinsky said. I would like to emphasize that the "c" version can only be implemented after a principled resolution by the Slovak Government.

Jeszenszky Says No Intention of Joining NATO

LD0404091291 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky held a forum in Fejer county yesterday. There was no mention of recalling the ambassador in Washington. Karoly Babiszky reports on other important remarks made by Jeszenszky.

[Babiszky] The ending of the Warsaw Pact as a military organization made a significant contribution toward strengthening the continent's integration. The Hungarian Government has no intention of joining the other, still existing, military organization, Geza Jeszensky emphasized. It does not declare neutrality because in the present world, where bipolarity has almost completely ended, this has no significance.

The Hungarian Government has no intention of joining NATO because it respects the security policy of the Soviet Union, the minister said. In any case, the intentions of the government are to establish good and correct relations with our great neighbor and all the other countries around us.

Lorincz Resignation Letter, Goncz Reply Quoted

LD0404080691 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] One of the major storms in internal policies during the past week concerned a letter, the letter written by Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz, chief of staff of the Hungarian Army to President Arpad Goncz. To avoid any guesswork in the future, the lieutenant general authorized us to make the text of the letter public. I quote:

Esteemed Mr. President:

It is the intention of the Defense Ministry to change the present system of leadership in the Army. The public expression of this intention makes the necessity of my work questionable.

While thanking you for your confidence, patience, and understanding shown in my work, Mr. President, I ask you to relieve me of my post with effect 1 June 1991, and in accordance with the relevant regulations, to retire me from service on 1 December.

Esteemed Mr. President, I have no other intention than to complete my professional service with military honor and human dignity. My respect for the Army and my self-esteem equally demand that I should not serve in any other capacity in the Army, and that my assessment should be the same as other officers in a similar situation.

With genuine respect toward you, Mr. President, I ask for your understanding and a favorable consideration of my request.

[Dated] 27 March 1991, Budapest

[Signed] With respect, Lt. Gen. Kalman Lorincz

There was a reply to this letter, the reply from the president of the Republic. We succeeded in obtaining this as well. It reads:

Esteemed Mr. Lieutenant General:

The Constitution of the Hungarian Republic and the law concerning the defense of the country has not changed. Your rights and duties are contained in these two basic laws.

You always had, and continue to have my full confidence. I do not accept your resignation. I compel you, in line with the oath of allegiance you made under the Hungarian Constitution, to continue in your post according to the best of your ability and conscience.

I wish you all success in your future work, and strength and good health.

[Dated] 3 April 1991

[Signed] Arpad Goncz, commander in chief of the Armed Forces

Political Historian Analyzes 'Change of Regime'

AU0504112891 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 2 Apr 91 p 5

[Interview with university lecturer Sandor Balogh, chairman of the Political History Institute, by Sandor Faggyas; place and date not given: "Patience Is Infinite, But It Can Still Run Out"—first two paragraphs are NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Excerpts] A year has passed since Hungary's first free, multiparty elections organized in the spring of 1990, after a 43-year ban. Some people believe that on 25 March and 8 April 1990, the Hungarian population largely voted the same way as in 1945, giving the three

center-right parties approximately the same parliamentary majority that it had given the Independent Smallholders' Party 45 years earlier. This would lead us to conclude that Hungarian politics could take up where it left off in 1945. Another opinion, however—one which the opposition parties and the majority of the public would probably agree with—is that there has not really been a change of regime, but only a change of elite. We are still stumbling at the very beginning of this much-heralded liberal democracy, this greatly anticipated long and winding road to a social market economy.

How does a historian like Sandor Balogh (who has been dealing with Hungary's modern history for decades) view the year that has passed? Would we be justified in asking whether a change of regime has actually taken place in Hungary?

[Balogh] If by "change of regime" we mean a change in the nature and quality of Hungary's political powers, and a complete change in the people who exercise these powers, then we can safely say that there has been a change of regime in Hungary—at least as far as the political sphere is concerned. The fact that the public does not sense this change is another matter. I think that there are several reasons for that. For example, Hungary has had a gradual and peaceful transition from a state-party system to a parliamentary system. [passage omitted]

This has meant that, on the one hand, some of the old power structures and elites have been able to "adapt" to the new system, but on the other hand, many of the new people in power have been unable to prove their credibility because they were already successful and enjoying prominent positions under the former regime. The public interprets this as a simple staff change at the head of our country. People see that the old teams have been thrown out in certain places, but they do not see that in general, the new teams can be more suitable, more prepared, and—most of all—more successful than the old teams.

[Faggyas] Some people say that there has not really been a change of regime. These people primarily argue that they had expected to see an immediate and tangible improvement in the economic and social situation of the majority of the population. [passage omitted]

[Balogh] There are several reasons behind that argument. A change of regime has, indeed, taken place in the political sphere, but in the economy and in society, the process is much lengthier. Interestingly enough, the gradual change and the slow transition have created a deformed image of society in people's minds. People see a mishmash of elements from both the old and the new regime, they see that old structures and trends continue to exist and exert their influence, and they see that the solid founding pillars of the new system are still missing. Consequently, a large section of our society rejects both the old regime (what they call existing socialism) and the new regime (the not-yet-existent market economy, or to be more specific, its detrimental implications.) It is not a coincidence that even our political parties do not know what this society is, and what it actually wants; all our social strata are in an interim transitional phase. [passage omitted]

[Faggyas] Some people compare the Hungary of today to an airplane without a pilot, an airplane that is kept in the air on automatic pilot and thanks to the joint efforts of the passengers on board. Other people believe that the government coalition has a firm grip on Hungary's change of regime, on our economic restructuring, and on our privatization program. Which assessment comes closer to the truth, in your opinion?

[Balogh] Hungary is, without a doubt, building a capitalist society that even the majority in the current government coalition would not have imagined two years ago. [passage omitted]

We cannot predict the way in which ownership changes will affect various social strata. As far as I can tell, neither the Hungarian Democratic Forum nor the Alliance of Free Democrats has realized that "classic" capitalism cannot be applied to Hungary—to be more exact, it would lead to a collapse. We cannot base ourselves on abstract economic and political theories; we cannot copy a bourgeois model of civilization which exists in the West because it is the fruit of decades of organic development. Hungary's accession to Europe can only be achieved if we take into account and base ourselves on the country's own concrete assets and possibilities. [passage omitted]

Government Official on Bank System Modernization

AU0504102591 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Apr 91 p 9

[Interview with Minister Without Portfolio Katalin Botos by Katalin Bossanyi; place and date not given: "Banking System Facing Reorganization—Half-Full Glass"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] A committee has been set up for the further development of the Hungarian banking system, with the participation of well-known domestic and foreign experts. We interviewed Katalin Botos about the reasons behind the urgent need to modernize our banking system, the legislation on the organizational modernization of our banking system, and the public's evaluation of the banking professionals.

[Bossanyi] Both international financial organizations and well-known foreign experts say that Hungary is ahead in creating a market economy because there is an active capital market here, albeit only in a primitive stage, and a multiple banking system emerged in Hungary years ago. It seems that both the government and you are dissatisfied with the operation of commercial banks and, therefore, you are urging for further reforms. Why?

[Botos] Our banking system resembles a half-empty glass. It is a matter of approach when I say that this glass

is half empty or half full. This duality is also characteristic of the activity of our commercial banks and of the professional training of our bank managers: They know more than their Eastern colleagues, but they probably know less than the representatives of the financial world which they want to join. Therefore, I consider all kinds of self-appraisal as to how far we are in developing our banking system as a little useless. Our banking system carries all the growing pains of half-market conditions [felpiaci viszonyok]. This means that, on the one hand, the commercial banks keep enterprises and private ventures in a state of debt-slavery; on the other hand, a very close community of interests has emerged among these banks. All this can be well traced in our financing situation and in the need to pay dividends. Unfortunately, the owners' short-term interests affect our entire banking system, and the underlying reason is that the banks' shareholders are not real owners.

[Bossanyi] In view of all this, the solution is quite simple: We must privatize the commercial banks as soon as possible.

[Botos] In my opinion, this should be done gradually. We must wait for the emergence of a new strata of owners: a broad circle of small and intermediate investors who will be able to get a share in the banks and act as real owners there. [passage omitted]

[Bossanyi] What role would you attribute to a well-functioning State Development Bank?

[Botos] I start from the premise that there are professional institutions in developed market economies which handle the state budget. In our situation, it is of particular importance to manage properly the scarce central resources. In my view, therefore, we should strengthen the aforementioned institution and operate it as a state development institute or fund. Its role would be to finance the large-scale infrastructure investments and in general the development projects carried out from central funds. The same institution should be in charge of various leasing matters and of the state funds allocated to self-governing bodies. [passage omitted]

[Bossanyi] The bill on the issuing bank and the bill on banking activity have been drawn and will soon be submitted to Parliament. The officials in question claim that there are too many restrictions in these bills. What is your opinion about this?

[Botos] In my view, both bills are in line with European norms. In addition, we should legislate separate laws on insurance companies, investment funds, and gambling. [passage omitted]

[Bossanyi] What is your position on the question of who should supervise the issuing bank?

[Botos] Legally, I firmly support the idea that the issuing bank should be under the jurisdiction of the government. I must point out, however, that this is more a question of principle, rather than a practical matter. An issuing bank should have close contacts with the government and the economic cabinet. However, it is a fact that the issuing bank should not be led by short-term budget considerations. [passage omitted]

Labor Ministry Publishes Unemployment Prospects

AU0504094491 Budapest MTI in English 0930 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, 4 April (MTI)—"The number of unemployed in Hungary currently stands at 130,000-150,000, and the number of dismissals expected in the remainder of the year is estimated at 300,000-400,000. However, it seems probable that 40-50 percent of dismissed workers will be able to find new jobs, which means we can count on some 250,000-300,000 unemployed by the end of the year," an official of the Ministry of Labour said in an interview with the daily NEPSZABADSAG, carried in the Thursday issue.

The Ministry of Labour has prepared a prognosis about the staff cuts expected in the second quarter of the year, based on data provided by companies planning to dismiss more than 50 workers. Accordingly, the prognosis for the second quarter, the March-June period, reckons that 50,000-80,000 people will lose their jobs. More than 70 percent of the staff cuts are to take place in industry. Northern Hungary and Northern Transdanubia are the most endangered areas with respect to unemployment, but staff reductions will also be high in Budapest.

The employment expert notes that unemployment affects all social strata, not merely the so-called marginal groups. In other words, qualified, valuable workers might also be dismissed, alongside frequent absentees and drunks. It is thus extremely important that the financial means of some 28,000 million forints available to ease the employment problems be utilized in a suitable manner.

USSR To Withdraw 10,000 Troops This Year

LD0404164391 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1550 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] The Soviet side has informed us that by the end of this year, it intends to withdraw about 10,000 soldiers from Poland. This is what General Zdzislaw Ostrowski, government plenipotentiary for the stationing of the Soviet Armed Forces in Poland, said at a press conference.

Ostrowski Comments on Timetable

LD0404194591 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Units from the Northern Group of Soviet Forces will be withdrawing from our territory under their own timetable, which has not been agreed with the Polish side. This information was given by General Zdzislaw Ostrowski, government plenipotentiary for the deployment of Soviet Armed Forces in Poland.

By the end of this year, 25 percent of the Soviet Forces will have left Poland. The first to withdraw, on 8 April, will be the Rocket Artillery Unit from [name indistinct], near Szczecinek. The Soviet side foresees the withdrawal of its armed forces from Poland by 1993.

Asked about the transit of Soviet forces from the territory of the former GDR, General Ostrowski answered:

[Begin Ostrowski recording] The transit is taking place, but it is not taking place—this transit of which we now speak. [sentence as heard] What is taking place is a routine transit which has lasted, well, for 47 years, within the framework of ordinary agreements functioning between the Soviet Union, Poland, and what was then, at the time, the German Democratic Republic. In effect, it had the right to unrestricted transit. Lately, however, we have restricted it quite decisively. We are letting through no more than three or four transports every 24 hours, and no more than 30 to 40 transports every month. [end recording]

There are about 52,000 Soviet soldiers on Polish territory at the present time. Their armaments amount to 590 tanks, 800 personnel carriers, 201 planes, and 40 helicopters.

USSR Refuses Sale of Soviet Planes to China

LD0404111691 Warsaw PAP in English 1018 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Warsaw, April 4—"China has announced that it wishes to buy 14 Soviet-made Tupolev 154M aircraft from the Polish airline 'Lot', together with one other of the same type from the Polish Airforce, in a deal which the Soviet Union has refused to approve," the GAZETA WYBORCZA daily wrote today.

According to 'Lot' director Bronislaw Klimaszewski the initiative for the deal came from the Chinese side. "However, without formal approval from the aircraft manufacturer, who must guarantee servicing facilities for the new owners, the deal cannot really be completed," he said.

"The Soviet authorities also wish to buy Soviet-made aircraft (17 in total) from Lot. However, the negotiations are proceeding slowly, because it isn't very clear who we ought to negotiate with—the Soviet Airforce hierarchy and 'Aeroflot' are undergoing a permanent reorganisation," Klimaszewski said.

"The second problem is that there is a difference of opinion between ourselves and the Russians concerning the value of these aircraft," Klimaszewski stressed.

Minister Says KGB Activities in Country Ended

LD0404143791 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1400 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Internal Affairs Minister Henryk Majewski has told journalists that the legal activities of the Soviet KGB in Poland ended a month ago. He also stated that the police functionary who revealed to the weekly NIE the circumstances behind the intervention in relation to one of President Walesa's sons did not face the professional consequences for this action.

UD Adviser Kuczynski on State Enterprises

PM0404143491 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 19 Mar 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Waldemar Kuczynski, adviser to Democratic Union (UD) leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki, by Grzegorz Dowlasz; place and date not given: "How To Handle State Enterprises"]

[Text] [Dowlasz] State enterprises are seen as the epitome of all evil. They are believed to be the millstone around the economy's neck. Since they cannot all be privatized at once, perhaps it would be better to bring about their liquidation?

[Kuczynski] In Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, we had no doubts whatsoever that the economy should be privatized, and we certainly did nothing to delay the progress of the essential ownership transformations. On the contrary, we recognized that the process of ownership transformations provided a very important arena for implementing more effective privatization methods. Indeed, we see the same kind of scope in it now as we continue our work on the Democratic Union program. This does not mean that we want to persuade people that we can obtain rapid and large-scale results in this area. I would not agree that wholesale liquidation of state enterprises is the only alternative to privatization. In our view, state-owned enterprises will remain a significant element in our economy for a long time yet, and we must simply seek ways to make this element more efficient and helpful in overcoming the recession. We must also

ensure that the enterprises pay good money to the people they employ—just like other sectors of our economy.

[Dowlasz] Well, would you not agree that we have to date seen a great variety of economic reforms and stages of reforms, and somehow none of them have so far helped state-owned enterprises to operate any better?

[Kuczynski] This was because the earlier reforms were applied within a totally different system that did not give them any chance of success in any case. Today we are building a market economy, and no ideological elements will be allowed to interfere.

[Dowlasz] But can a state-owned enterprise pass the test under free-market conditions?

[Kuczynski] I believe it can. After all, state-owned enterprises operate also in highly developed capitalist countries; private ownership is by no means the only form of ownership there.

[Dowlasz] What, then, is the reason for the economic lethargy displayed by Polish state enterprises?

[Kuczynski] I would not deny that we are still doing very badly in this respect. First, no room can or should be allowed for democracy in an economic enterprise. In many Western countries, large companies—including private companies—do provide for certain forms of employee participation in enterprise management. There are certain matters in which decisions can be made with the participation of the work force, sometimes even allowing the latter a decisive vote. However, this certainly does not mean that the managing boards of these companies are in any way restricted or incapacitated when it comes to making crucial decisions concerning major market moves.

[Dowlasz] While here in Poland, on the other hand,...

[Kuczynski] Precisely. Here, boards of directors do not feel that they are in a particularly strong position, especially just at this moment. We cannot have a situation of permanent instability caused by the twin-rule system. After all, everyone knows that boards of directors in enterprises are under pressure from the trade unions and workers' councils, and such an arrangement cramps the management's freedom of action, weakens them, and virtually incapacitates them when it comes to making serious and necessary decisions. This state of affairs must not be allowed to go on. The trade unions must limit their activity to trade union matters. We take every opportunity to insist on this in our various meetings with Solidarity Enterprise Boards. As to workers' councils—well, this way of interpreting democracy can only seriously harm enterprises, the national economy, and work forces themselves. I am convinced that the best way to help employees is by strengthening the position of management boards and giving them a sense of security and stability, because it is only then that their companies will finally flourish under more effective management and, consequently, pay higher wages to employees.

[Dowlasz] That sounds fine, but one of the reasons behind the pressure applied to managements is the fear of employment reductions; after all, state firms suffer from overstaffing.

[Kuczynski] Fears concerning employment reduction measures should not be ignored or underestimated. I believe that they are partly justified; however, there is really no other way out in cases where it is really essential to reduce employment. On the whole, it is indeed essential if enterprise efficiency is to be increased. Overstaffing is the worst of all evils. It is, in effect, tantamount to continuation of hidden unemployment. It is better, from both the economic and the social viewpoint, for a certain proportion of the labor force to temporarily lose their jobs and receive adequate and just unemployment benefits.

[Dowlasz] Consequently, in cases where quick privatization is impossible, it would be preferable to privatize the given enterprise, but trade unionists object to this solution—not to mention the reaction of activists involved in workers' self-management bodies.

[Kuczynski] They may object to it, but they should be persuaded that there really is no better way. We should not try to delude ourselves that we will be able to privatize the majority of state enterprises very quickly. The sooner we make it possible for state enterprises to operate efficiently, the sooner they will join with everyone else in the process of overcoming the recession. As I already said, we will never achieve this if enterprise management boards are not certain of their position, if witch-hunts continue against enterprise directors. State firms must adjust as soon as possible to operating in market economy conditions. It is largely the combined results of the "twin rule" and the lack of a sense of stability on the part of enterprise managements—and not of some supposed vestiges of the nomenklatura system—that are responsible for the poor condition of the state firms. This must be changed, and this is one area in which "acceleration" could really prove beneficial.

[Dowlasz] Thank you for the interview.

Iliescu Receives ADEVARUL Management Board

AU0304200091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1806 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/4/1991—Upon their request, the board now running the daily "ADEVARUL" were received today by President Iliescu whom they informed of the aim and reasons for the editorial staff's striking action and of the new management's intentions to maintain the newspaper's elevated standard and poised attitude.

President Iliescu voiced his hope that "ADEVARUL" would continue to earn appreciation for its objectivity and equilibrium.

Civic Alliance Issues Appeal to Parliament

AU0404150591 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 30 Mar 91 p 1

[Civic Alliance appeal to Parliament; place and date not given]

[Text] To Romania's Parliament:

We will all be poorer as of next Monday; however, the poorest of all will be the old people. At this dramatic moment in our daily lives, the Civic Alliance proposes that the law on pensions be modified, by canceling the great privileges reserved for the members of the nomenklatura and the repressive apparatus. Thus we will achieve a minimum of equity and, on the other hand, the money thus saved could be used to increase the old age and illness assistance to the most destitute members of society.

The reexamination of the pension law would be tantamount to a reexamination of the moral law of the world in which we live. Romania's Parliament owes this act of justice to those who elected it.

The Civic Alliance

Iordache Sends Open Letter to FSN's Stoica

AU0404162591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1528 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/4/1991—In an open letter run by today's issue of the independent daily "ADEVARUL," in which he calls the recent National Salvation Front [FSN] convention when Ion Aurel Stoica was elected executive chairman of the Front's Steering Collegium a "sand cathedral," Mr. Claudiu Iordache, who resigned the post of first vice-chairman of the FSN Steering Committee before the convention, is of the opinion that the Front still is a "political movement of a cultivated and consented non-homogeneity" within which three categories coexist:

—That of converted activism, defeated but not destroyed;

—The majority one, of the "innocents" inspired by the revolution;

—That of the Front leaders. In the absence of a natural selection, comments Mr. Iordache, referring to this category, there were the interests which worked allowing numerous mediocrities, with the gift of staunch insistence, to claim the representation chairs.

That is why at this moment the future of the National Salvation Front should no longer be left at random, since the "quality of its leadership is above any negotiation." "You are now in this difficult position which allows you but few liberties," reads the open letter.

Mr. Iordache, who refused even to take part in the convention because he had been, according to his own statements, either a witness or a party to these "improvising" actions which paved the way to a "negotiated," or in other words, mediocre solution, also states he will not answer the attempts at turning his breaking away with the present Steering Collegium into a "separation from the Front" since he has no reasons to do so, further declaring himself "at the disposal of the FSN's choice."

Government Favors 'Independent' TV Stations

AU0404162291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1541 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/4/1991—Government Supports Creation of Independent Television Stations reads a statement of the government released in Bucharest on Thursday which reminds that the government submitted a law of the visual and spoken press to Parliament in December 1990.

The government is of the opinion that to initiate this drive one must not wait for the promulgation of the law reminding that, as it had previously stated, the first channel of the Romanian television should become a public corporation and the second channel a commercial company with private interests.

The document also specifies that appropriate equipment and facilities are needed for channel 2 to cover the whole national territory and to create Channels 3 and 4.

The government considers as having special importance the provisions of its bill of the visual and spoken press which ban any form of censorship, ensure the right to reply under the same circumstances, and the full independence of the National Council of the Visual and Spoken Press.

Solidarity Declaration for Democracy, Civilization

AU0304153391 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 29 Mar 91 p 2

[Declaration of Solidarity; place and date not given]

[Text] After World War II our peoples were made, by force of arms and conventions between the powers of that time, to support the most extensive, most harmful, and most futile

historic experiment: Communist totalitarianism. This common past of suffering and disillusion unites us today and compels us to jointly seek—for the benefit of this part of Europe and for that of each country separately—the best and most appropriate ways and means to return to democracy, civilization, and normalcy.

The democratic forces meeting in Timisoara to become acquainted with each other and to cordially make known their victories and failures, are morally in solidarity with the efforts of reestablishing democracy and political pluralism in Central and Eastern Europe. They also pledge to develop—for their mutual benefit—contacts established on this occasion and to seek new ways to cooperate in order to contribute more successfully to integrating our countries into a democratic Europe freed from the danger of any kind of military conflict.

Timisoara, 27 March 1991

Bulgarian Union of Democratic Force—Dimitrina Petrova, Antoni Todorov, and E. Nikova;

Civic Alliance of Romania—Nicolae Manolescu, George Serban, and Stelian Tanase;

Hungarian Alliance of Free Democrats—Miklos Haraszti, Eva Karadi, and Erika Torzsok;

Charter 77 (Czechoslovakia)—Petruska Sustrova;

Social Democratic League of Yugoslavia—Milan Nikolic and Sonja Licht;

Social-Democratic Party of Moldova—Viorel Ciubotaru

P.S. Romanian television refused to broadcast this declaration.

Former Regime, PEC Blamed for 1989 Repression

AU0404122791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0955 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 4/4/1991—A national poll made by the Romanian Polling Institute "IRSOR" over March 2-31 on a representative sample of 1,142 persons, shows that 76 percent of the people tested blame the repression of the December 1989 revolutionaries on the Ceausescu couple together with the former members of the Executive Political Committee [PEC], while only 13 percent lay all the blame on the presidential couple.

According to the same poll carried out on a request from daily "ADEVARUL" 58 percent appreciate the sentences against the communist nomenklatura leaders were too light, 23 percent think the sentences were fair, and 4 percent believe they were too hard.

As for the amount of interest roused by the aforementioned trial, there is a fair distribution: 36 percent highly interested, 36 percent hardly interested.

UVR Official on Ideology, Hungarian Traitors

AU0404074091 Budapest BESZELO in Hungarian 30 Mar 91 pp 20, 21

[Interview with Vatra Romaneasca Deputy Chairman Ion Coja by William Totok; place and date not given: "Europe? No!"]

[Excerpts] [Totok] You are not only Vatra Romaneasca's [UVR] deputy chairman, you are also the organization's ideologist. Your organization, with its almost 4 million members, is often seen as extremely right-wing; what program does UVR actually have?

[Coja] Our program can be described in quite simple terms: It is nationalist, but not chauvinistic! It is UVR's aim to rehabilitate the term "nationalism," a term that has been tampered with by communist propaganda. Indeed, for small and medium-sized nations like Romania—and other, similar nations—nationalism has always proved quite useful, and at the moment, nationalism simply represents a refuge. Nationalism is only dangerous when it is accompanied by strong economic and political power. For example, in Germany and Russia, or England and China, nationalism can be turned into a variant of imperialism. Nationalism in smaller countries, on the other hand, is a completely natural phenomenon. If you ask me why Romanians have to be nationalists, I will answer that under the pressure of a united Europe and an internationalized world, national cultures are becoming more and more diluted, they are increasingly losing their identity. The Anglo-Saxon cultural model has already started to play a dominant role, and American behavior is spreading fast—it has already started to influence our youth. UVR is doing everything in its power to draw attention to these facts. [passage omitted]

[Totok] UVR sees the Hungarian national minority as one of the destabilizing elements in Romania....

[Coja] When we Romanians speak of Hungarians, we mean the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ], which we can safely regard as a kind of communist successor party. The RMDSZ's behavior is clearly marked by communist monolithism, and the association speaks on behalf of Hungarians in Romania, who use the same language. The RMDSZ emerged on 23 December 1989, but everything indicates that this association must have existed before then. The RMDSZ is headed by former communist civil servants, so it is not an anti-communist, but an anti-Romanian organization. Personally, I blame the RMDSZ for the failure of the Romanian revolution and for the tragic tensions in Transylvania. Contrary to RMDSZ rumors, former members of the nomenklatura are not to be found in UVR, but in the RMDSZ.

UVR was formed two months after the RMDSZ, and it announced its first demonstration in Tirgu Mures, a demonstration aimed at protecting the Romanian nation. Immediately after the revolution, one could clearly see the conspiracies and coordinated actions aimed at discrediting and denigrating Romania's good reputation.

[Totok] Who was involved in these conspiracies?

[Coja] For example, the people who brought on the events in Tirgu Mures, the people who made Romanians face an everyday danger. During the March 1990 clashes, many gypsies joined the Hungarian side; these gypsies had been paid by the RMDSZ to injure Romanians. The RMDSZ paid 500,000 lei per month to the relatives of those gypsies who were convicted after the clashes, by way of consolation, and to make sure that the families kept quiet.

It was planned that the police and the Army would be provoked in Tirgu Mures. Thus, if the police and the Army opened fire, it would be an excuse for Hungarian troops to start marching on Transylvania. Afterwards, Hungary would have asked international United Nations troops to intervene, and these troops would have given further privileges to the Hungarian national minority.

At long last, Europe has to realize that Hungarians in Transylvania do not merely have rights, they are in a privileged position! It is a disgrace to see the rights given to Romanians in Hungary. UVR would be entirely satisfied if Romanians in Hungary just had the same rights as Hungarians in Transylvania. The RMDSZ refuses to talk to UVR, and it terrorizes Hungarians who do not agree with RMDSZ viewpoints. [passage omitted]

RMDSZ Reacts to UVR Statement

LD0404141791 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0400 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Telephone interview with (Odon Pitfai), national spokesman for the RMDSZ, in Bucharest by Levente Suto; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] The party of the Vatra Romaneasca [UVR], the Romanian Party of National Unity, recently issued a statement in which it did not so much attack the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] but the governing National Salvation Front [FSN] for its policy toward national minorities. Why and from what angle we will soon understand from the evaluation of the national spokesman for the RMDSZ, (Odon Pitfai), whom Levente Suto phoned in Bucharest.

[(Pitfai)] The essence of the statement is that it reprimands the Front. In fact it demands that the organization of political parties along ethnic lines be declared unconstitutional, and recommends a constitution for Romania for the Romanians, which would not guarantee rights for the Hungarian minority. In schools, separatism—tuition in the language of the nationalities—should be abolished, mainly in Hungarian. They should abolish school groups that were created during the present academic year. They are justifying this in saying that these schools are educating Hungarian specialists for the various economic and social functions, so that in Translyvania a Hungarian public administration would be established, and afterwards Transylvania be held jointly with Hungary. So it is the same old idea.

[Suto] How did the government party react to this statement?

[(Pitfai)] So far, the government had not yet reacted in any form.

[Suto] Does the HDUR not regard this statement as simply a provocation?

[(Pitfai)] By no means. Here what is the question is the preparation for elections. The Romanian Party of National Unity wants to gain more further votes with this.

Iliescu Leaves for 3-Day Visit to Moscow

AU0404162091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1605 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/4/1991—President Ion Iliescu of Romania left Bucharest in the afternoon for a three-day visit to the Soviet Union, at the invitation of the USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. The new treaty between Romania and the USSR recently initialed by the foreign ministers will be signed during this visit that will also be an opportunity to exchange views on the situation in the two countries, on the bilateral relationship and on current international issues.

Statements Before Departure Cited

AU0404190091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1805 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/4/1991—As announced, President Ion Iliescu of Romania has started a three-day visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of President Mikhail Gorbachev.

This is the first working visit of the Romanian head of state to the Soviet Union after the December revolution, President Iliescu told the press before departure. Last year I only attended a summit meeting of the Warsaw Treaty countries. So this visit will be an opportunity for a dialogue with the political leadership of the Soviet Union and the Russian Republic. The programme includes talks with both President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin. The signing of the treaty of good neighbourhood, cooperation and friendship between the two states, which is also scheduled, will indeed be the highlight of the visit, since it will set the relationship between our two countries on a new basis and reflect the change in the two countries and all East European countries, the change across the continent, the principles laid down in international documents, especially the Charter of Paris. The new treaty will show all these changes in Europe, in our countries, and set our relationship on a new basis, on the basis of international law, of mutual respect.

It also brings a new element that reflects the underway changes in the Soviet Union that take into account the growing role of the Union republics. Some of them, like the Republic of Moldova, have proclaimed their sovereignty, the treaty includes these new elements making provision for

the establishment of direct relations with the Union republics, with local bodies, with economic factors, enterprises, economic agents as we call them. Because both countries have taken the path to a market economy.

Politically, this is a significant moment for the course of the bilateral relations. Any lucid mind, any clear-minded politician in Romania had regarded the relations with our biggest neighbour with a full sense of responsibility. Nicolae Titulescu was one of the promoters of friendly good relations with our eastern neighbour. After all, it is in our interest too.

The press has taken up a number of questions alleging that the treaty would sanction the occupation of Romanian territory, and so forth. Which is nonsense because as far as we are concerned the post-war European frontiers were sanctioned by the 1947 Treaty of Paris. This is the historical and political reality of the continent, and this treaty will make no such a point. However, the principles it proclaims which take into account of the new relations in Europe provide, in my opinion, a favourable framework for the development of relations with our neighbours, with our brothers across the Prut and therefore opens a new era in the relations between the two Romanian states, each of which has its own status, as well as the possibilities for a future evolution in consideration of the whole evolution of the states in our area.

Answering a question on why is Romania the first state to conclude such a treaty with the Soviet Union, President Ion Iliescu said: Maybe also because our relations have been less tainted by some problems. We are one of the few countries that did not have troops in its territory, so it was easier to discuss the problems.

Foreign Minister Continues Visit to FRG

Meets FRG's Genscher in Bonn

AU0304174291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1638 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/4/1991—At the headquarters of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tempelhof Strasse talks were held between the Romanian foreign Minister Adrian Nastase and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Germany's vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs.

In an interview with the German TV station ZDF, Adrian Nastase said he wanted to make the realities in Romania better known. His visit will be centered on aspects on cooperation with the government in Bonn. the Romanian foreign minister specified the transition to the market economy couldn't be made without difficulties, surgery is needed to change structures on a number of planes. He added Romania expected Germany to help it in the economy, by credits first of all, and by managerial assistance.

The Romanian foreign minister also referred of the relation between conservatives and reformers in Romania's political life and to the broadcasting time the Romanian television allotted to national minorities and the opposition.

Concludes Visit

AU0404205091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1808 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/4/1991—Two significant moments marked the end of Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase's official visit to Germany: A meeting at the Ministry of the Interior and another with representatives of German employers.

The exchange of views with the secretaries of state of the interior Horst Waffenschmidt and Franz Kroppenstedt concentrated on the situation of ethnic Germans in Romania.

The Romanian minister spoke about the rights of the Romanian citizens of German descent and about their guarantees as well as about the Romanian Government's special programme to stop the outflow of ethnic Germans from Romania, the German hosts restated the willingness of the German Government to assist in this programme.

Ways for inter-government cooperation emerged during the talks, including the setting up of a joint working team to make suggestions for action in consultation with the representatives of the Saxon and Swabian organisations in Romania and Germany.

The talks at the Federation of German Industry (BDI) covered the best ways to stimulate the interest and participation of German business and industrial quarters in the Romanian economy.

The Romanian minister outlined the government's reform programme and the measures that had been taken for transition to a market economy and the privatisation of the economy, as well as to guarantee foreign investment in Romania. He urged the BDI to encourage German businessmen and industrialists to come to Romania so that they may have an opportunity to see and assess the Romanian economic potential.

The hosts stated their interest in encouraging German firms to invest in the Romanian industries, and stressed the significance of the political stability in Romania and its image abroad, as well as of guarantees for foreign investment.

A step-by-step approach was shown to be preferable to both parties, the first stage in this process being an assessment of the possibilities of German firms to involve themselves in the joint programmes that the Romanian side had detailed out to the secretary of state at the Ministry of Economics, Klaus Beckman during his recent visit to Bucharest along with measures to give German businessmen an idea of the laws in force and the government's economic programmes. A liaison and information office for German businessmen and industrialists is expected to be opened in Bucharest soon.

Republican Leaders Face Press Following Meeting

LD0404204991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1825 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Report on news conference by the republican presidents with national media representatives following meeting in the Serbian Assembly on 4 April]

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—Some 100 domestic and as many foreign journalists are attending the conference. Sergey Grizunov, a correspondent from the Soviet NOVOSTI agency was first to ask the host of the talks, Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, whether progress was made at today's talks.

It could be said that a step forward was taken at the talks, if this means that the positions of the republics of Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina have become clear and the understanding has been reached that talks should proceed on this basis, Milosevic said. It was necessary to take this important half step, the Serbian president added.

Franjo Tudjman first noted that Milosevic failed to mention Macedonia, which also clearly expressed its stances. Tudjman went on to add that a step forward was made today in the sense that ambiguities in the views of some republics have been cleared and that we are a step nearer to a solution.

A BORBA journalist, Djoko Kesic, said that the public has the impression that those presidents and this SFRY Presidency are not capable of solving the problems. He posed the question to all six presidents—will they let other people, and under what conditions if yes, replace them as negotiators, for example, deputies in the assembly, the opposition, intellectuals...

Milosevic was the first to answer. He said that he maintains that legislative delegations should also take part in these talks on solutions to the crisis and that solutions should be sought in all those areas where bridges can be built.

None of us, Tudjman replied, is presenting only his personal viewpoints. We are presenting our governments' stances, that is, their will, articulated in the legislative elections. We are bound by the constitutions we adopted. Consequently, this is not a matter of personal view but of conditions and programs stemming from different situations. I am personally willing to have talks with everyone and give everyone a chance, Tudjman said, and added that he even "had legally foolproof evidence" to this effect, because, as he said, as early as 13 years ago he proposed that the most responsible people of Serbia and Croatia should sit down at the negotiating table to discuss a way out of these problems.

Gligorov replied that the platform for the tasks was endorsed by the multiparty Macedonian legislature that has been regularly informed about the course of the talks, so if necessary, it could make amendments to the platform. He added that the non-legislative opposition and public at large should also take part in this.

We are not experienced negotiators, "admitted" Bulatovic, who as he said sensed the "critical tone" in the question of the BORBA journalist. I am afraid though, that this is a simplification of the problem. According to him the wounds of the earlier period are painful and it is unlikely that everything would be resolved by replacing the negotiators. Only the voters can give and withdraw confidence in us, he added.

Izetbegovic, in his reply agreed with the previous speakers and added that on this occasion he is reiterating his idea, presented three months ago, that foreign assistance should be sought, with a goodwill mission from Europe.

Kucan said that he feels "the full responsibility for realizing the historical interests and bases of the position of the Slovene nation." It is an illusion to think that we are representing personal stands in the talks. There cannot be any broader basis for negotiating stances than the plebiscite that we had in Slovenia, he noted.

Milosevic and Tudjman also replied to Kesic's question about what they discussed last night after the session of the SFRY Presidency. The Serbian president said that he and Tudjman met as they meet at other meetings in the Presidency, and that they talked about the elimination of force and incidents in the course of the discussions on the solution of the crisis. The Croatian president added that he also talked to Milosevic about the continuation of the dialogue between experts.

President Tudjman then answered a number of questions about several controversial issues posed by Croatian Television's correspondent.

Commenting on the establishment of a police mission in Plitvice, Tudjman said that this is "a matter of outlaws trespassing upon Croatia's territory who proclaimed it an integral part of the so-called region of Krajina that declared its secession from Croatia and annexation to Serbia." We could no longer calmly watch the spread of violence and the dismantling of Croatia's constitutional order, so we sent police forces into Plitvice to drive away the outlaws who were terrorizing a firm, most of whose employees are in fact Serbs.

Who removed the Croatian banner from Plitvice? In Tudjman's words it was some soldier, unaware that in so doing he demonstrated disregard for the sovereignty of the Replublic of Croatia.

I do not believe that he was ordered from above to do so, Tudjman said, and added that the Croatian banner is nevertheless flying in Plitvice, above its police station.

The Yugoslav Army's movements around Croatia, Tudjman assessed, have assumed worrisome proportions. I think, however, he added, that this is within the framework of its exercises and its efforts to be present there.

Neither in Pakrac nor in Plitvice did the Army take action against the police forces, although that was what the outlaws desired. One should credit the Army for not siding with the outlaws, but we cannot be satisfied with the conduct of some members of the armed forces' reserve personnel who are acting against the Croatian Republic.

We maintain that the Yugoslav Army should be an Army of all the peoples. This is how the Army came into being, and it would be disastrous if it opted for only one concept for instance, for the League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia that advocates a restoration of the socialist system that has collapsed everywhere, in our country and in Eastern Europe.

If individuals from the ranks of reserve personnel manage to entice the Yugoslav Army into an attack on the legally and democratically established Croatian authorities, then we—the leadership, government, and people—would regard this as occupation and aggression. This would be the Yugoslav Army's war with Croatia. I, however, believe in reason and believe that the Army will remain beyond political events and that it will transform itself on the basis of democratic changes, Tudjman concluded.

To what extent are the republics' positions defined in relation to their position last year when the models of Yugoslavia's confederal and federal systems were being offered and are there any documents about this apart from certain general standpoints, Belgrade Radio's journalist Dragan Stavljanin asked Milosevic, Tudjman, and Kucan.

Of course there are documents prepared by the Yugoslav Presidency, Slobodan Milosevic said, explaining that these documents refer to the economic system and the changes regarding the functioning of the Yugoslavia market, the securing of a joint system conducting relations with foreign countries, and a joint currency.

There are also other documents, prepared in the SFRY Presidency, that deal with defense issues, foreign affairs, and all the other questions about the minimum of functions without which Yugoslavia could not function as a state, Milosevic added. It cannot be a state if it does not have a uniform army and uniform foreign affairs, and if it does not have a single market as well as the same degree of protection of human, civil, and national rights. On this basis we are also talking about the functions and foundations of the future Yugoslav state, and this is also where we differ. It is obvious that we have defined some starting platform, he added, saying that so far the advances have been microscopic.

The problem is in our attitudes toward the Yugoslav crisis rather than in the documents, Tudjman began his reply. As is known, there are theories that the 1974 Constitution is to be blamed for the current constitutional, political, and state crisis because it is a cross between federal and confederal concepts. True, it is a hybrid, Tudjman said, but there are also different opinions in Croatia, opposed to those who hold this view. The attempt to include elements of confederalism and consensus into the constitution within the framework of a single-party socialist system was in fact an attempt to prevent an even more intense crisis of the Yugoslav community dating back to the early 1970's. We in Croatia consider that it is no longer possible for such a community to exist, not even based on the 1974 constitution, let alone going back further, Tudjman continued.

Tudjman categorically said that the way out of the crisis should be sought on the basis of an alliance of sovereign states and sovereign repubics. This should be on the basis of a joint, voluntary agreement of the republics, which is in their interests and from which they can proceed in ordering their mutual relations, so this community is in the interests of the whole of Yugoslavia.

This is where the major difference lies, he added, pointing to today's statement, but it is also the prerequisite for matters to be clarified in further talks. It is important that we all agree that no one's will can be imposed by force, that the solution should be sought in a democratic manner, and that this should not be to the detriment of any other nation.

"It seems to me that it is possible to find solutions, although views are differing. Milosevic mentioned a united army a moment ago. On this subject alone the differences can be seen. We proceed from the fact that an alliance of sovereign states cannot have a united army. It can have a joint or certain elements of a joint army, but each republic must have its own armed force as an element of its sovereignty, precisely so it cannot be subjected to the will of another."

"This would not be a cause for possible friction, but rather a guarantee of equal relations."

This is why we have to clarify whether we are in favor of an alliance of sovereign states or whether we have to find a way of dissociating in a democratic manner, Tudjman added, expressing optimism that it is still possible to find a solution that would satisfy all republics.

Even a journey round the world begins with one step, Milan Kucan said, stressing that it is necessary to clarify whether the partners in the talks are equal and what is their status. Second, whether the republics are sovereign states that have the possibility of creating an alliance of sovereign states on the territory of present-day Yugoslavia or whether they are parts of a common state which are reforming that state. As far as Slovenia is concerned, the answer is clear: a statement of good intentions, plebiscite, resolution on dissociation and on this basis, the possibility of seeking partners for the creation of a new community, Kucan said.

Momir Bulatovic also added to the replies to the question asked, noting that this meeting actually discussed what is in fact meant by the proposal of an alliance of sovereign republics.

For us in Montenegro, the sovereignty that the Yugoslav nations in the republics enjoy is not at issue, but what is contentious is what lies behind that. That is, whether the alliance of sovereign republics forms a single state community or not.

The answer is that the proposal on the creation of an alliance of sovereign republics has as its result not one state, but several states, and in addition it is quite unclear whether, when, and under what conditions these states will find themselves in the movement of the European Community. Put extremely simply, the issue would be whether there is a Yugoslavia or not.

A decision on this, Bulatovic explained, as the presidents discussed today, will be taken by the citizens, the members of the Yugoslav republics.

On being asked by VECERNJE NOVOSTI journalist Ljiljana Zorkic, as to how the interethnic confrontations are to be settled and economic sovereignty established, Milosevic said that he is categorically against shooting and violence.

"There are many elements in the solution of the crisis, but securing peace is the dearest value."

As far as overcoming the economic crisis is concerned, Milosevic maintains, there is no solution to this until a concept of economic expansion has been drawn up. There is no solution to the crisis "until the recessionist concept of solving Yugoslavia's problems is abandoned and until we opt for a constructive and expansive economic model—that is, until we kickstart the flywheel of a new cycle of investment."

Replying to a question about his opinion on solutions for interethnic confrontations, Tudjman said that since August last year, up to last month, the Croatian authorities had refrained from using police force against the real outlaw actions that had usurped authority, denied allegiance to the constitutional and legal system of the Republic of Croatia, brought traffic to a halt, and harassed citizens and tourists. He added that the Croatian authorities have concluded in the wake of Pakrac and Plitvice that they have had enough of that.

"We then said: We have played democracy for long enough and it is high time to say that Croatia is a republic and that it has the right to establish order."

Noting that the Serbian population accounts for 11 percent of Croatia's total population and that Knin's Serbian population accounts for only 15 percent of the Serbian people in Croatia, Tudjman said that "as far as the Croatian authorities are concerned, they will not deploy any armed force provided there are no further breaches of Croatia's constitutional and legal order."

"The Croatian authorities, will attempt to establish the constitutional and legal order primarily by political methods. If they are unable to do so, they will have, like any other country in the world, to use force too," Tudjman said.

Asked by Skopje Television whether there is any possibility of "two plus two plus two" solutions, in addition to the "two plus four" variant included in today's statement, Kiro Gligorov said that the question of why some were in favor of a federal state and some in favor of a union of sovereign states had been clarified to a considerable degree today.

In the course of this, he reiterated, as far as details are concerned, there are differences, both between "the two" and among "the four". Much as it is important for us to decide whether we should opt for a federal state or a union of states the true character of that community cannot be perceived yet until its contents are endorsed, which means until the functions and competences of the state are established in either case. This issue remains to be discussed at the next session.

Asked by a "British International" journalist whether the economic crisis as Yugoslavia's gravest problem had been discussed and whether the representatives of Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia had agreed to simultaneously lift their discriminating measures, Milosevic said that the economic crisis had not been discussed.

The complexity of political developments has overshadowed the severe economic crisis, he said and added that Serbia would lift all its blockades once the agreement was reached that the burden of crisis should be spread evenly.

In the Croatian president's words, the violations of market rules are forcing us to devise political solutions within the next week so we can tackle the economic problems.

Replying to the preceding question of the VECERNJE NOVOSTI journalist as to how bankruptcy could be prevented, Kucan said that a way out of bankruptcy was being sought so economic sovereignty could be established.

As far as the discriminating measures are concerned, the Slovene president says that there are no such measures in this republic.

Belgrade Television's journalist was interested in whether the presidents had talked about the opportunity for citizens to vote on the country's future.

Yugoslavia's fate can only be decided by the Yugoslav peoples, and only by referendum, Milosevic said and noted that this had always been Serbia's position.

Every agreement on the country's fate must be adopted by the republics' legislatures, and we would certainly opt for a referendum, Gligorov said.

Croatia's Constitution foresees both referendum and the possibility for the Assembly to decide, as well as those moments when the Assembly's decisions have to be endorsed through a referendum.

In Tudjman's opinion, a decision on a referendum in the whole of Yugoslavia is impossible because Yugoslavia as a community was created by voluntary association between nations and sovereign republics; therefore, decisions should be sought separately in each republic and in their agreements.

Replying to the question whether it was true that he was going to visit Tirana and what the aim of that visit was, Tudjman said that he had learned about this visit in the newspapers.

If it does take place, it can only aim to develop our mutual friendly, economic, cultural, and other relations.

The next question addressed to Tudjman was whether he supported the demand of Kosovo and Metohija to become a republic and how long he was going to provide refuge for the champions of Albanian separatism—Zejnulahu and Karakusi.

"I neither know who these gentlemen are nor do I know that they are in Croatia, nor that Serbia has asked for their extradiction. I am in favor of democratic rights for all citizens and all the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia as I maintain that the Albanian population should solve this question of rights: human, civil, and national rights within the framework of Serbia.

The Novi Sad television correspondent Andjelka Bjelajac asked, among other things, what the president of the Republic of Croatia could tell the Serbian nation in Croatia after today's talks.

Tudjman replied that from the first day of his arrival at the head of the republic, he has been telling the Serbian people that they are guaranteed all civil and national rights. We invited them to talks and offered participation in the government and the presidency, even to their most extreme representatives, but they rejected it. He mentioned Jovan Raskovic in this context.

They talked first of cultural, then political autonomy, and finally proclaimed their territorial separation. This concept, Tudjman considers, is untenable for the existence, let alone the sovereignty of Croatia.

The majority of the Serbian nation in Croatia is reasonable, as shown by their visits to the president, when they claimed, Tudjman said, that the leaders do not represent even 10 percent of the Serbs in the republic.

I believe that reason will prevail and that the Serbian nation in Croatia, which is their homeland, will with their Croatian fellow citizens resolve the problems and the tensions will quickly disappear. Whether this will be so also depends on whether and in what form they receive support from Serbia, Tudjman said.

KUNA correspondent Jasin Ravajdi asked whether there was discussion today of the organization of a referendum, based on the model of the Soviet Union. Milosevic replied that this had not been mentioned.

It is not possible to proceed from the fact that Yugoslavia does not exist, because it has its own international legal and territorial integrity. Every nation has the right to self-determination to the point of secession, which means that anyone may adopt a decision on separation from the Yugoslav community, and no one will prevent this. The right has to be established in the Yugoslav constitution. It should be the same for all, and should not be realized by a unilateral decision and policy of fait accompli, Milosevic stressed.

TANJUG journalist Branka Djukic wanted to know the strength of the stand made public in today's communique that the possibility of provoking incidents and the use of violence must be excluded for the duration of the talks and also wanted to know what guarantee there is that this will be respected.

Milosevic replied that he assumed there is enough goodwill and competence for this stand to be respected. This is how it will be within the sphere of his influence and the others should also behave in this way.

What do you think about Izetbegovic's reconciliatory stand, asked VJESNIK correspondent Radila Stankovic, to which Tudjman suggested the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency should reply first.

Alija Izetbegovic then explained that, in his opinion, he found himself in a situation in which both sides—federal and confederal—had become entrenched. The only way out is in a dual formula that implies the sovereignty of republics within a community with the characteristics of a state.

Milosevic then noted that this solution is not clear to him, because the confederal formula is, he believes, just another name for the abolition of Yugoslavia. We cannot and will not agree to this, said the Serbian president.

After this, Izetbegovic stressed that changes are necessary because reality demands them and because this is a creation of a new community that, he repeated, will be based on two foundations: sovereign republics and a community with the characteristics of a state.

Ljiljana Jovanovic, a journalist from Belgrade Television, asked why Croatia is refusing to finance the Yugoslav People's Army and why the Croatian parties are calling on the people to arm.

Tudjman first replied to the second part of the question, noting that the Croatian parties are not calling on the people to arm, but instead calling for defense in case the freedom, democracy, and sovereignty of Croatia should become threatened.

The Croatian government, as well as those in other republics, has the right to arm the police (both active and reserve forces), and it bought the arms abroad because it had not been able to do so in country, stressed Tudjman. Croatia's share in the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army is not smaller than that of the others; that is, it is

proportional to its means. A question arises, however, as to the Army's attitude toward Croatia and democratic transformation.

Asked by the Indian press agency correspondent whether Markovic and his government had been discussed today, Slobodan Milosevic briefly replied that they had not been discussed.

HINA's [Croatian News Agency] journalist Olga Mihelic, asked whether Ante Markovic, who, in her opinion is the most peace-loving person, was going to be supported or whether he was going to be toppled and whether Yugoslavs should live in fear or hope in the wake of today's talks.

Milosevic reiterated that Markovic and the federal government had not been on today's agenda although in light of the economic situation there was a great deal of reason for that.

The president of the Republic of Serbia then expressed his belief that the forces of peace, reason, freedom, and equality would defeat the forces of disintegration in Yugoslavia.

Further on the same question, President Tudjman stressed that he was aware of his historic responsibility and that he did not think that Markovic was more peace-loving than he was. We presented a program that was accepted by the people in democratic elections.

Croatia's president acquainted the journalists with reports that up to the moment, when the democratic authorities, as he said, were established, Serbs had accounted for 40 percent of the policemen and for 70 percent of what he called the sensitive services. Not even 10 percent of them have been dismissed, so you can compare this with other republics—Tudjman stressed and added that this was a matter of illusions and extremism that is not in the interest of the Serbs in Croatia and the relations between Croatia and Serbia.

The REUTER correspondent, Andrej Gustincic, was interested whether President Milosevic had been informed in advance about Krajina's incorporation into Serbia and whether he had agreed to it.

I was not informed in advance with Krajina's decision, Milosevic replied. Airing, as he said, his own opinion, Milosevic regarded the reaction of the Serbian people in Krajina as a direct consequence of their living under pressure and of having been denied the right to express their interests. The drama of the events that even claimed human lives shows that a right, just, and humane solution must be based upon respect for the people's will expressed through a referendum. When the journalist reminded Milosevic of the second part of his question Serbia's president replied that he had made it clear.

Because the REUTER journalist was interested in whether the Krajina case could also happen in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Alija Izetbegovic first said that this was a time of extremists and that one could not rule out someone's attempt to this effect. In Bosnia-Hercegovina, however, there should be no such danger because it is a state of three nations - Muslims, Serbs, and Croats. I do not believe that the Serbs will decide against their own state, the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency said. In this context he noted that the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly was a Serb, and so were seven ministers in the government. Serbs are also at the helm of 30 municipalities in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Alija Izetbegovic said.

Presidents Affirm Hope for Peaceful Solutions

LD0404194191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1834 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—In Belgrade today talks were held between the presidents of the Republics of Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, and the presidents of the Presidencies of Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Slovenia.

Issues concerning the political future of the Yugoslav community were considered.

The participants in the talks presented their views on the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, affirming the determination that its peaceful and democratic outcome should be assured. The presidents of the republic and presidents of the republican Presidencies reiterated their jointly established stand that they respect and are strengthening the established democratic legal order in the republics, and that they respect the constitutional order of the SFRY until it is changed in a democratic and constitutional manner.

The presidents agreed in their assessment that for as long as the talks last the possibility of inciting incidents and the use of force must be excluded, so the Yugoslav nations, or republics, are able directly express their wishes and interests in conditions of peace and to reach a mutual agreement on their common existence and the fate of Yugoslavia.

The order and relations within the existing Yugoslav community cannot be changed by unilateral decisions, it was said in the talks. The more so because two of its republics, Serbia and Montenegro, are prepared to preserve the continuity of Yugoslavia as a federal state, and four republics are advocating looking for a way out of the country's political crisis by creating a possible community in the form of an alliance of sovereign states in which all nations would have guaranteed national rights and citizens would have all human rights.

The presidents will continue talks on the principles on which it is possible to found this community and on its competences. In this connection, the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency stressed that this future community of republics should have the powers that give it the character of a state: international legal subjectivity, joint armed forces, a single currency, and so on.

The president of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, considers, on the basis of the plebiscite decision that was adopted in December 1990 in Slovenia, that those Yugoslav nations and republics that see the realization of their national interests in their own independent states, have the right to achieve this interest.

The presidents stress that it is necessary to prepare and carry out talks on the regulation of mutual rights and commitments, including the guarantee of equality of citizens and nations, so the realizaiton of this orientation does not damage the equal rights of other republics, or nations.

The presidents also agreed that the manner in which an agreement is arrived at must equally protect the rights of all Yugoslav nations or republics.

New Autonomous Regions Termed 'Invalid'

LD0404221591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2123 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, April 4 (TANJUG)—The federal government said on Thursday that the creation of autonomous regions within Yugoslavia's federal units, especially the declaration of the secession of the territory of one republic and its joining another, were "unconstitutional and unacceptable."

Precisely due to this, "the decision on joining certain parts of the Republic of Croatia to the Republic of Serbia are legally invalid," a statement issued from the government session said.

The decision on joining Serbia was made this week by the so-called Serbian autonomous region (SAO) Krajina, which is not recognized by the Croatian authorities, and two other regions in Croatia—Slavonia-Baranja and Western Srem.

SAO Krajina comprises 13 municipalities in Croatia with a majority Serbian population. Substantial numbers of Serbs also live in parts of the other two regions.

Serbs in Croatia claim that their rights have been threatened after the victory of the Croatian Democratic Union in the first post-war multi-party elections in the republic.

The decision on joining came after the clashes between special units of the Croatian police and the police of SAO Krajina at Plitvice on Sunday in which two people were killed and 12 wounded.

On the developments at Plitvice, the Yugoslav Government said it was resolute to take all the necessary measures within its competences to prevent further clashes and to give guarantees of civic and national equality and security of all persons and property.

The government said the developments reflected the deep political, constitutional and economic crisis which could escalate into even more serious conflicts, especially if the efforts to change the borders of Yugoslavia and the borders between its republics through unilateral acts continue.

The crisis in Yugoslavia can and must be resolved solely in a peaceful and democratic way, the federal government said in its statement.

Jovic's Office Denies Macedonian Press Report

AU0404142391 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30-31 Mar 91 p 6

[D. N. report: "Autonomy In Macedonia Was Not Demanded"]

[Text] Skopje—The Office of SFRY [Presidency] President Borisav Jovic has denied the claim by NOVA MAKEDONIJA commentator Milan Banov that in his interview for THE NEW YORK TIMES, which was published in POLITIKA, Borisav Jovic "advocated the autonomy of Albanians in Macedonia, as they already have in Serbia." Chief of the Office, Slobodan Marinkovic, stated in his reply that one cannot conclude from Jovic's text that he "advocates the autonomy of Albanians in Macedonia," and that "in fact, the meaning of president Jovic's reply was that in Serbia the Albanian peoples enjoy more rights than anywhere else in Yugoslavia, and that it is unreasonable that Serbia should be criticized most." The reply also states that the interview does not contain a single word about "Jovic's malevolent disposition toward Macedonia" or that "Jovic is meddling in the affairs of a sovereign republic." The controversial part of the interview reads: "nevertheless, they (Albanians) have been granted autonomy only in Serbia, but have most complaints against Serbia."

In addition to this denial NOVA MAKEDONIJA reprinted a commentary by Milan Banov, "Jovic's Mathematics," asking its "readers to judge for themselves where NOVA MAKEDONIJA had gone wrong."

Titova Korenica 'Quiet'; Armored Unit 'Ready'

LD0404132591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Titova Korenica, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—The area of the Titova Korenica municipalities was relatively quiet overnight and this morning. There are no reports as yet of any incidents, TANJUG was told at the local militia station.

The deadline for the withdrawal of members of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry from the police station at Plitvice expired at midnight last night. This morning, however, Bosko Bozanic, president of the municipal government, explained that there was no question of an ultimatum and that in no way would Titova Korenica citizens attack the police station once the deadline expired. According to Bozic, the letter to the

Yugoslav Presidency (by the municipal government containing a call for the withdrawal of the Croatian police) was only a warning at Plitvice remains, however, it will for ever be a flashpoint in the area.

Radolsav Stojanovic, a leader of the Democratic Party, visited Titova Korenica. The aim of his visit—it has been learned from reliable sources—was to gather information so that the Democratic Party can assist the municipality of Titova Korenica in compiling a written report on recent events in the Plitvice national park, which would be sent to the European Parliament.

More than 10 inhabitants of nearby villages still reside in Hotel Pljesevica, the only hotel in the town of Titova Korenica. They come from the villages of Plitvice, Mukinje, and Jezerce, the head of the hotel reception, Danica Basta, revealed. According to her, people from nearby villages found accommodation in private houses in the town, but their number is not easy to establish.

Major General Ilija Stimac this morning visited an armored unit stationed in the village of Ljubovo, 20 kilometers southwest of Titova Korenica on the Titova Korenica-Gospic road. The unit is ready to carry out any task ordered by the Supreme Command, Maj. Gen. Stimac stressed, and added that soldiers whose military service has expired are prepared to stay longer in their units.

Withdrawal Order Partially Implemented

LD0404164191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1508 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, April 4 (TANJUG)—The decision of the Yugoslav Presidency on the withdrawal from the national park Plitvice of all Croatian republican and local Serbian police units brought from outside has been implemented only in part, Federal Assistant Secretary of the Interior Petar Misovic said on Thursday.

In a report on the country's security situation submitted to the Federal Chamber, one of the two chambers of the Yugoslav parliament, Misovic said that there were no more armed clashes in the area and that the units of security forces brought from outside had withdrawn.

He noted, however, that about 100 "regular" policemen brought from outside have stayed in the Plitvice area.

This additionally aggravates the country's security situation, said Misovic, assessing the situation as "extremely difficult and complex."

On March 31 the Presidency of Yugoslavia adopted a decision asking all Croatian and Serbian police units "brought from outside" to withdraw from Plitvice, because of an armed clash earlier in the day between Croatian policemen and policemen of the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina. Two people were killed and 12 wounded in the clash.

Croatian authorities do not recognize the autonomous region of Krajina, proclaimed by Serbs in the areas of Croatia predominantly inhabited by them.

Noting that the seriousness of the situation was reflected in "interethnic conflicts and conflicts between republics...In conditions of a serious constitutional crisis," Assistant Secretary Misovic asked the Federal Chamber to appeal to all to do everything for preventing further clashes and resolving problems by peaceful means."

Misovic told the deputies that an operative group of Federal Interior Ministry inspectors was still in Plitvice, working together with the Croatian police, the army and the representatives of local authorities on calming the situation.

A group of 19 Croatian deputies to the Federal Chamber has officially protested against the failure by Federal Secretary of the Interior Petar Gracanin to personally address the parliament as announced yesterday.

The deputies assessed the information submitted instead by Assistant Secretary Misovic as "superficial, incomplete and onesided."

The Croatian deputies described as "unacceptable" the method of "making assessments of the security situation in croatia on the basis of incomplete and unverified reports from police organs" and "rejected the information with disapproval."

Police Reports Update Situation in Croatia

LD0404164591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1451 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Zagreb, Apr 4 (TANJUG)—According to police reports, the situation today in towns of eastern parts of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, which are predominantly inhabited by Serbs, is quieter than yesterday.

Barricades with armed guards can still be seen in certain places nearer to the border with the Republic of Serbia, but there were no clashes.

It is also quiet in the municipality of Titova Korenica and in Plitvice, where a strong police station of the republican Interior Ministry of Croatia has been established, while the Yugoslav army is still patrolling the roads.

Minicipality president of Titova Korenica Bosko Bozanic said that the municipality authorities' demand last night for the withdrawal of the Croatian Interior Ministry police from Plitvice by midnight was only to "warn of possible consequences".

Bozanic said that setting the deadline for their withdrawal did not mean that the police station of the Interior Ministry would be attacked after its expiration.

The only serious incident took place last night in the village of Lovinci, some thirty or so kilometers from

Gospic (south of Zagreb), where a group of armed villagers fired two rifle grenades at the police station and the community center.

There were no casualties in the attack. The police station belongs to the Croatian interior ministry.

Railway workers in the city of Knin, south of Zagreb, which is the center of Serbian resistance to Croatia, were sent on paid leave.

Railway traffic via Knin has been suspended since Monday. The risks for normal railway traffic are high, due to mining of the railroad tracks every day.

Croatian Delegates Reject Security Report

LD0404123291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1156 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—Croatian delegates in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly today lodged a formal protest with Chamber President Bogdana Glumac Levakov because Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Gracanin failed to address the delegates—as agreed yesterday—and because Petar Misovic, the deputy federal secretary for internal affairs, instead submitted a report about the current security situation in the country.

Evaluating Misovic's report as superficial, incomplete, and biased, 19 delegates from Croatia asserted in the protest note that "his approach was biased and unacceptable." They also said that "assessments about the security situation in Croatia were given on the basis of incomplete and unconfirmed information of police bodies, and that assessments about other equally serious security situations (the Belgrade demonstrations, for instance) were not given, although police information about the demonstrations was more complete and thorough."

"Thus, the delegates of the Croatian Republic cannot endorse the report and must reject it with dissatisfaction," the protest note concludes.

Croat Opposition Demands Government's Resignation

LD0404125791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—The Party of Democratic Changes [Stranka Demokratskih Promjena—SDP], the largest opposition party in Croatia, called today for the Croatian leadership to replace the republic's government, to refrain from using force, and to continue with negotiations. These standpoints can be found at the end of a long statement that the SDP distributed to journalists today.

The SDP calls on the Republic of Croatia Assembly and Presidency to form a government whose composition and policies would enjoy the confidence of the majority of the Croatian people and also to set up a presidential council. The authorities are also called to refrain from using force and repression when resolving intranational conflicts in the republic. The leadership is being urged to continue to take part in negotiations to complete a new historical agreement on a future Yugoslav community.

The SDP also calls for unity among all forces in Croatia in the defense of the republic's freedom, democracy, territorial integrity, and sovereignty. The SFRY Assembly is urged to provide conditions in which the Federal Executive Council can carry out its constitutional duties of conducting the country's economic policy.

The SDP statement also notes that Yugoslavia has been pushed to the brink of civil war as a result of an aggressive policy designed to retailor Yugoslavia in line with greater-Serbian interests.

Knin Temporarily Closes Schools, Enterprises

LD0504142991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1308 GMT 5 Apr 91

[Text] Knin, 5 Apr (TANJUG)—By order of the Knin executive council, all enterprises and schools in the municipality stopped working at 1400 today. The order, broadcast by Radio Knin, decrees that the stoppage will last four days. Shops and restaurants can stay open only until 2000.

This decision by the Knin executive council is justified by, as the decree states, "the worsening political situation" and an alleged "possibility of an attack by the Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs on the territory of the Knin municipality". The order causes astonishment and fear among the population, as well as traffic jams in Knin, where the atmosphere was calmer this morning than in past few days.

Slovenia Remains 'Determined' on Independence

LD0404190191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1801 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Apr 4 (TANJUG)—Slovenia is determined to become independent and will not agree to either a reorganization of the federation or the strengthening its function, legislation secretary of the Yugoslav Republic Lojze Janko said today.

Janko told journalists in Ljubljana after a Slovenian government session today that several laws are being prepared today which will transfer all the functions of the federation to the republic. He recalled that Slovenia has already adopted laws on a new tax and foreign exchange system and the republican budget, announcing that laws which should enable the independent economic development of the republic are being prepared.

Janko said that parallel to talks on dissociation from Yugoslavia, Slovenia is also conducting talks with international institutions on its international recognition.

In a plebiscite held last December, Slovenes overwhelmingly came out in favour of the republic's independence. Under the law on the plebiscite, the Slovene parliament is to carry out the will of the majority of the republic's inhabitants by June 23. Janko said that Slovenia would go through with its decision, but set out that it would not be good unilaterally to sever all relations in Yugoslavia before that date.

The Slovene government today took a further step towards the republic's breakaway from Yugoslavia and the strengthening of its state sovereignty by approving the text of a draft law on Slovenia's foreign affairs.

Slovene Minister of International relations Dr. Dimitrij Rupel explained to newsmen that the draft law to be adopted by the republican parliament regulated Slovenia's diplomatic and consular services and agreements with other states.

Under the draft law, Slovenia is to have its own foreign ministry and twenty or so missions abroad, as Rupel specified. He said that that would enable Slovenia to assume the duties performed by the federal foreign affairs authorities so far.

Serbian Government Presents Document on Krajina

LD0404120791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1124 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—A proposal that the Serbian Assembly immediately support the decision by the Serbian autonomous regions of Krajina, Slavonija, Baranja, and West Srem on unification with the Republic of Serbia casts serious doubt on the declaration on the peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis adopted recently by the republic's legislature. This is stressed in a Serbian government document submitted today to the Serbian Assembly in response to yesterday's initiative by deputy Milan Paroski on behalf of a group of deputies.

The Serbian government believes the Serbian Assembly should respect decisions to be passed by the SFRY Presidency and by the representatives of the republics who are at the moment discussing how to resolve the crisis of the Yugoslav community and, by implication, the position of the Serbian nation in Croatia.

Karadzic: Serbs 'Disappointed' With Presidency

AU0404142991 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Apr 91 p 4

[Report on interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by D. Pusonjic; in Sarajevo on 1 April: "Serbs Are Disappointed With the SFRY Leadership"]

[Excerpt] Sarajevo—During a break in the session of the leadership of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, at which a decision should be made on the course of action regarding yesterday's well-known events in Plitvice, its president, Radovan Karadzic, kindly accepted a request from BORBA and gave us a brief interview.

[Pusonjic] What is the mood among Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Karadzic] They are disappointed with the SFRY Presidency, which has not been able to implement its own decision on disarming party armies.

It can now be seen that the arms that the Croatian Democratic Community bought were not bought to defend the "young democracy" but for quite different purposes. The Serbian people are also disappointed with the Yugoslav People's Army because of its unreadiness to react. We have information that Croatian units opened fire on the Army and that the Army withdrew. If it is true that the Army (the Yugoslav People's Army) is quite impotent, then the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina demand that another military formation be set up that will guarantee the safety of Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

Macedonia Views Tudjman-Milosevic Agreement

AU0304164591 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Mar 91 p 4

[D. Nikolic report: "Charge Toward Money"]

[Text] It is being unofficially claimed in the Macedonian Assembly that Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman have agreed to bring down Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic. The same source claims that the agreement was reached because Milosevic and Tudjman need money to calm worker dissatisfaction. If this agreement is put into practice, it can be expected that the Topcider printing presses will start printing money again. The source doubts that this would amount to long-term salvation because hyperinflation would erupt, debts could not be rescheduled, and the country's foreign currency reserves would disappear. It is being said that Ante Markovic is preparing for an important appearance in the Federal Assembly and that the deputies would give him a vote of confidence, if he asked for one.

Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov was not willing to give a statement to BORBA on the eve of today's meeting in Split because he has already said what needed to be said. As is well known, Gligorov advocates talks, and the meeting between Milosevic and Tudjman is officially along these lines. One gets the impression, however, that today's meeting in Split will find it difficult to emerge from under the shadow of the meeting between the two national leaders. Otherwise, the statement that SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic made to the NEW YORK TIMES—which was carried in POLITIKA and in which Jovic came out in favor of the kind of autonomy for Albanians in Macedonia that Albanians have in Serbia—was received very unfavorably in Macedonia. This, because it is being said its aim

is the Kosovization of western Macedonia and Macedonia's entrance into an anti-Albanian front alongside Serbian authorities.

Kosovo Declaration Fails in Federal Chamber

LD0404161491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly, after six hours of debate, did not adopt the proposed declaration on restoring the constitutional order in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the adoption of which, under emergency procedure, was proposed by a group of delegates from the province. Twenty-two delegates voted for the resolution, 66 voted against, and there were 25 abstentions.

The chamber concluded that the Federal Executive Council and competent federal authorities should be asked to submit as soon as possible a complete report on the implementation of the conclusions of this chamber adopted at the end of last July.

The conclusions relate to the situation in the province following the adoption of the decision of the Serbian Assembly on the suspension of the provincial assembly and executive council. They set out, among other things, measures for overcoming the misunderstandings and problems that have arisen.

Strike Continues To Ground National Carrier

LD0504074191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0647 GMT 5 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Apr (TANJUG)—No Yugoslav Airlines (JAT) aircraft took off this morning due to the continuing strike by technical support staff. A meeting of the technical support staff started at 0800 at Belgrade's Surcin Airport. It is expected that the meeting will resolve the current crisis in the collective, JAT announced.